

Byzantine efforts to negotiate assistance through the carrot of union. He notes, however, that the Byzantine selection of Ferrara/Florence instead of Basel was a blow (p. 220, note 260) to western conciliarity. This is a bit naïve. It is hard to imagine that the Byzantines would have had any significant effect on the survival of conciliarity. In addition, it is questionable that Basel represented conciliarity in any Byzantine or Orthodox sense. It was largely a representative assembly and, perhaps, resembling more parliamentary developments to come. The Byzantines were used to viewing the papacy as the nexus of Western Christendom, the well-defined focus of authority. The Byzantines sought a crusade and the pope was the single power in the West who could, in their opinion, rally such a movement.

Balfour's *Politico-Historical Works of Symeon of Thessalonica* is an excellent monograph of the personality and political role of Symeon. The fact that Balfour is himself an Orthodox Christian no doubt enables him to give a more sensitive treatment of some of the difficult subject matter covered in this work. It is, however, a word directed at, and of interest to, scholars of the period, either ecclesiastical or political. It is not easy reading for the student of Byzantine or church history. The exhaustive analysis of Symeon as a political figure is the value of the work; it takes Symeon out of the context of liturgics. In fact, he and his works represent a microcosm of a two-hundred year period of decay and decline for the Byzantine Empire. Not only are the eight selected works well chosen for critical rendering, but they are the basis for a series of excellent commentaries on what was going on in the empire and, particularly, in Thessalonike. The reviewer hopes that this work is but the beginning of greater efforts to be devoted to Symeon by scholars of the period.

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A History of Christianity. By Donald W. Treadgold. Belmont, Massachusetts: Nordland Publishing Co., 1979. Pp. 277. \$18.95.

A History of Christianity is precisely that, a *history* of Christianity. It is not, and does not pretend to be, either a definitive history of the phenomenon of Christianity or a history of the Church. As such, it takes on the thematic character of an account of Christian thought and major themes from the Old Testament period through twentieth century modernism and scientism. This is a fascinating, though certainly not a unique, approach; it is unique in that it seeks to do this in one volume and should be welcomed by the student as a valuable corollary to the typical institutional approach to Church history common in Orthodox seminaries (such as the Jedin *Handbook of Church History* series). The

professional historian will find it a convenient summary of selected themes in the development of Christian thought, and the relationship of that thought to the secular world. The professional will also face occasional annoyance, as when Treadgold offers a definition of the term, "apology."

Treadgold does not identify Christianity with an institution; and topics which could have conveniently been discussed to highlight the institutional development of the Church, such as the hierarchy and the monarchical episcopacy, are all but ignored, as if institutional development has no ideological parallel. The formation of the New Testament canon is discussed, but the institutional aspects of its formation are ignored. This is acceptable, however, as long as the reader keeps in mind that this one volume intends to do no more than highlight selected themes, ideas, and movements. Essentially a popular level work, *A History of Christianity* admittedly aims at Christians who, quite frankly, do not often know what they believe (p. 241).

What seems to be a major breakthrough in this particular history is Treadgold's claim to include a treatment of Orthodox historical and theological parallels to western—Protestant and Roman Catholic—developments ("most histories of Christianity give much space to Western Christianity and little to Eastern... The Eastern Orthodox Church is apt to be shadowy or even absent..." p. 11). In addition, he sets additional goals: to place Christianity in the context of world history, and to give the average Christian a clear sense of the fundamental beliefs of Christianity. Hence, he treats Christianity as part of the movement of ideas of which the Christian phenomena, never clearly defined, are sometimes the source (as in the case of Marxism) and sometimes the reaction (as in the case of Darwin and scientism). Finally, he seeks to break out of the Western frame of reference not only in his often perfunctory reference to the Orthodox but also in his treatment of third world Christianity and missiology.

While this book is a readable and enjoyable account of the growth of Christian phenomena, especially since Treadgold tries to relate parallel ideological or chronological Orthodox developments, he does little with East-West interaction. For instance, in his extensive treatment of the Reformation, he makes no note of the Orthodox reaction to reformed overtures in the mid-sixteenth century. He treats the Orthodox best when he treats them in parallel development, in contrast rather than in comparison. He mentions the post-revolutionary Russian Church and the conversion of a number of Marxist intellectuals, but makes no mention of their influence while in the diaspora on Western Christians, either theologically or ecumenically. In other words, some excellent synthetic opportunities are missed, but certainly any Orthodox reader will be thankful for even a paragraph that puts the disjointed Orthodox events within a larger Christian context.

The book covers a great deal of material. One of the author's stated aims is to introduce the Christian to the fundamentals of Christian belief in a unified schema from the formation and reception of the Old Testament canon to twentieth century modernism and scientism. Treadgold begins with the Old Testament, the establishment of roots, and, specifically, with the Hebrews' experience of the Exodus which is the real beginning of the Bible. He continues through the dynamics of the formation of the Hebrew and New Testament canon, and highlights the major events in a traditional salvation history format with Jesus as the nexus. As the Jews focused on the Exodus in history, so the Christians focused on the Resurrection. In the apostolic period he discusses major themes of church life with minor references to hierarchy, unfortunately treating the church structure as if it developed uniformly and universally.

Treadgold moves on to cover the definitions of faith of the Ecumenical Synods and correctly reduces all early theological formulation to an elaboration of the 'christological' problem. In chapters five and six he goes on to the 'formation of Christendom,' and again focuses on ideological themes—great thinkers, monastic growth, major heresies of the West, implications of the Frankish-papal alliance. Chapters ten and eleven move on to the Reformation and Catholic response (1500-1650), part of which was the Catholic expansion beyond Europe in highly successful missionary enterprises.

The most interesting sections are those most Orthodox students are unlikely to come into contact with in either secular or seminary courses in history, such as chapter twelve, "Pietism and Deism" (schism of head and heart), which largely shaped the American cultural scene. In discussing pietism Treadgold quotes Daniel Rops, saying that the very notion of being "saved" as a "lightening flash" was unheard of for 1700 years of Christianity (p. 171). He also notes that pietist missionary efforts largely "fopped," since they focused so heavily on the individual and ignored the cultural context. On the other hand, the more practical Roman Catholic approach to missions was quite successful and has continued so until the present. In keeping with Treadgold's stated purpose of integrating the Orthodox East into an overall presentation, it would have been appropriate in this chapter to do more than mention Cyril and Methodios; what of the Russian missionary movement across Siberia and into North America? Perhaps the most useful sections for the Orthodox students are those dealing with the post French Revolution developments—rationalism, scientism, materialism, and anti-Christianity. Though these phenomena are largely foreign to the Orthodox experience, they have shaped the Western world of which we are now part.

A History of Christianity gives the reader insight into the development of Christian thought. I recommend it to all students of the history of the Church as a counter-balance to the more institutional approach favored in Orthodox seminaries. The reader must, however, keep in mind that

this ambitious work is a one volume survey. It does not claim to be exhaustive or complete, and no comparison should be made with more extensive works of similar approach. It is not for the professional historian or scholar.

There are, however, some problems with Treadgold's approach. For instance, the title's use of 'Christianity.' The term is never explained or defined. It is essentially an abstraction whose use came into existence during the enlightenment; prior to that the references were to 'Church' or 'Christian.' Methodologically the author nowhere tells the reader how he will select material to include in his analysis. Why, for instance, is Christian mission given so prominent a place, yet there is no theory or theology of mission discussed and no mention of the role of Arab Christians in an Arab Muslim society, especially at a time when a rising pan-Islamic movement threatens their very existence?

Treadgold has done a fine job of surveying the essentials of the Christian faith and the phenomena associated with its development. The latter part of the book in which he treats the post Reformation movements, deism, pietism, modernism, missiology and scientism, however, is by far the most valuable for the Orthodox student; it presents in capsule form a great deal of information which should be part of the repertoire of any modern Orthodox, especially those preparing for ministry in the Church.

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The Byzantine Saint: University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. Ed. Sergei Hackel. Studies Supplementary to Sobornost 5, 1981. Pp. x, 1-245. \$15.00.

This collection of papers presented at the Fourteenth Symposium on Byzantine Studies at England's University of Birmingham is a very welcome contribution. The introductory material indicates that other papers were presented in addition to those offered in the publication. It must have been a quite rich and stimulating conference if the papers made available to us are representative of the spirit of the whole symposium!

We have here a scholarly treatment of the saint of the Byzantine Church. In addition to an introduction by the editor and a thorough chronicle of the conference itself by Anthony Bryer, nineteen articles of varying length by an international group of scholars make up the volume.

A scholarly work it is. Hackel notes in his introduction that:

The pious lay observer may be outraged and dismayed by the consequences of their work. But in the end it can only be someone like the dreadful Blemmydes or the fake holy man who might be interested in the maintenance of spurious reputations. Scholarship is committed to the establishment of truth. The Church, for her part,

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JOSEPH ALLEN

AN ORTHODOX PERSPECTIVE OF 'LIBERATION'

One should not think about, discuss, or attempt to construct any theory of liberation without first considering those fundamental presuppositions upon which the whole 'sense' of the theory rests. Two such presuppositions must be explained in this exposition of Orthodox Christian liberation.

The first is that the theory of liberation needs placement within the context of 'existence'; man cannot be 'liberated' unless he first knows, as a *conditio sine qua non*, just how and for what he 'exists.' This, of course, is an enormous task, but for our immediate purposes, a brief statement will suffice.

Existence in the Orthodox *modus vivendi* has its roots in a living synthesis and harmony of subject and object. Man is limited, conditioned, dependent, relative, and, in the deepest sense, 'caused.' God is, on the other hand, he who is unlimited; indeed he is the 'causer' of all human qualities. Man, as *homo religiosus*, begins the process of liberation from understanding that man is the 'caused' and God the 'causer.' In this way, man 'experiences' the world as a particular tranquility of order, i.e., a universal harmony in which he sees himself as a distinctive part. This does not put man in a deprived position. Rather, he is now able to move, to create, indeed to be a 'causer' himself, because he knows about his own origins. The idea of creation, in fact, implies this duality in existence: God and the creature who is brought into existence by freedom, pure and absolute, *ex mera liberate*. (As will be seen in the present paper, the concept of this basic duality is the underlying thought, and it finds its expression throughout, especially when differentiating between God's *ousia* or essence, and *energia* or energies.) Creation consists in God's calling "out of nothing" (*ex ouk onton*) a new existence, which becomes the bearer of his image or idea, and yet is not existentially identified with it, for such identification might be a confusion in the order of existence. We realize, therefore, that we cannot say of ourselves, "I am who am"—that we are not existing by the 'right of nature,' and that there must be, finally, a difference between our nature or essence and our existence. In short, Orthodoxy will say that we do not exist by an intrinsic cause (or nature), but by the Causer.

The second presupposition is a simple one. It says that Orthodox liberation rests not in a theory, but, rather, is shaped by a whole gamut of historical incidents, personalities, revelations, formations, etc. Life is surely composed of these factors; and God has often used these 'natural'

events and persons to offer a pattern with which man can move to liberation. Some speak of psychological liberation, societal liberation, etc., but we are here referring to that liberation under which every other form, important as it may be, can be subsumed; we refer to liberation as a way to God, the attainment of deification (*theosis*) truly a 'theological' liberation.

Some Historical Aspects

Needless to say, we cannot include all those facts of history which helped to create an Orthodox view of liberation. We shall, however, develop a schema beginning with that fundamental historical concept upon which all Christian history rests, that is, the nature of Christ himself. After a brief discussion of this early history, we shall move through Saint Gregory of Nyssa's spiritual ascent (as a representation of the Cappadocian Fathers) and into the Palamite formation of liberation through hesychasm. We shall end with a brief discussion of the Jesus Prayer as a way within the total living experience of the Christian life. But, throughout, my hope is that one will be able to see that this whole schema is, at once, interrelated and centered in the nature of Christ. Furthermore, this schema crosses some thousand years so that it is far from being conclusive.

Surprised as some may be, we must begin with the heresy of Arianism in the fourth century. It was Arius who said that Christ was a created being,¹ that he was not 'of one essence' (*homoousios*) with the Father. If Arius was correct, it meant that Christ had no human reasoning, had no *nous* or mind, but only the Word (*Logos*) was present, having entered into the human body. The various 'adoptionist' theories center around this idea. What this means, in short, is that Christ is not fully God and fully man, each 'interpenetrating' the other. This view, as we shall see shortly, is highly unacceptable for our concept of liberation to God.

But if Arian heresy has relevance in a negative way, what way offers man the positive approach to liberation? This way rests in the Nicene faith. Saint Athanasios first expounded the concept which is imperative to our view of liberation to God. For only with the doctrine of *homoousios* ("of one essence" with the Father), for which Athanasios fought tenaciously, can man be saved. To be 'saved,' in turn, means precisely the same thing as being liberated; both mean a finalized union with the Eternal One. Why is this so? The Christian concept (like the Greek concept) of salvation taught that mortality must be transformed to immortality, and such a transformation cannot happen unless immortality penetrates mortality, unless Christ as the one who is 'fully God' comes into union and inseparable fusion with a nature which was 'fully man.' Thus Saint

1 W. Walker, *History of the Christian Church* (New York, 1959), pp. 106-11.

Athanasios says: "God became man so that man could become God."

This is the attainment of *theosis*, and it is man's true destiny; this becomes the crux of all that shall be developed presently. If Christ was not fully God and fully man, *theosis* cannot be reached. Arianism was the first instance of a dangerous theory that finds man 'stuck' in his nature and frustrated in his efforts to be like God.

It is interesting to note, before continuing, that this early debate, as one among many concerning Christ's nature, establishes the fact that theology indeed 'speaks' to man in each age. It is true that Arianism has seldom been taken out of the realm of an historical crisis, i.e., as something that 'happened then' and has little relevance for anybody but the historian. By observing how it is relevant to contemporary liberation, however, we restate what has been continuously stressed—the fact that Orthodoxy, *ab initio*, has never 'compartmentalized' theology into a history or a dogma, separated from life. Rather, theology, as an integrated subject, offers a way of moving through life.

The Cappadocian Fathers were soon to follow Athanasios in their defense of the Nicene faith. These Fathers, Saints Basil, Gregory of Nazianzos, and Gregory of Nyssa were in the unique position to take the finest elements of the Greek ideals and Hellenic thought (learned at Alexandria from Origen) and apply them to Christian philosophy. Nevertheless, they were capable of a certain independence from the Platonic tradition.² The simplest example of this is to note that Nyssa, as Platonic as he seems, differed from Plato in his concept of creation. Plato taught creation by emanation, i.e., the intellect was in an eternal spiritual realm and when it fell, the body came into being. Nyssa, however, proclaimed that creation was caused immediately, at once, by an act of God who issued forth the change from the uncreated to the created.³

Saint Gregory of Nyssa's Spiritual Ascent to Liberation

It was with a fine sense of balance that Nyssa took these ideas from Plato that were in harmony with Christian belief, and applied them in a workable dynamic. From this he developed his theory of spiritual ascent to God (liberation). In his work *On the Creation of Man*, Nyssa demonstrates his belief that man was the crowning of creation, he to whom God presents a special dignity. In man the mind (*nous*) exists as a spark of divinity (*imago dei*). Man is the bridge from the world to God. In fact, God shows that special place of man by bringing the animals to him so that he can name them.

Byzantine iconography also has always emphasized that 'inner light,' or divine spark, with which man is created. The solitary Byzantine figure

2 H. Armstrong, "The Nature of Man: St. Gregory of Nyssa," ECQ 8 (1949), p. 2.

3 Ibid., p. 4.

clearly is not realistic. Rather, Byzantine art creates the impression that the light emerges from within; there are no shadows here, for shadows are seen only when there is light from without. Likewise, the very structure of the type of 'circle' (for want of a better word) with which the head of the figure is enclosed, emphasizes this inner light. Western art is much more 'external,' with an outside source of light, various realistic objects, shadows, and a halo effect which stands like a saucer above the head. The very appearance of the icon is at once an internal-looking one. The message is the same as Nyssa's: the image of God, the inherent spark, planted in man at creation.

Gregory considers the two accounts of creation in Genesis to be the steps that God took in the creation of man. Genesis 1 says, "Let us make man in our image." This, to Gregory, emphasizes the spiritual nature of man. In Genesis 2 God gave to man his materiality in view of his fall: out of the ground. . . the Lord fashions man. He was invested with the 'garment of skin' which is used, at once, for propagation through sex (*eros*) and for death (*thanatos*). God, therefore, created man first in a spiritual way, then in a bodily way.⁴

From this theory of creation, two sets of senses derive: a spiritual sense and a bodily sense, together composing total man (*homo totus*). What is important here, however, is that Gregory of Nyssa believed that the garment of skin, i.e., the body was now intended to be more of a remedy than a punishment.⁵ Very important to the Cappadocians, as Nyssa strongly emphasizes, was their emphasis on the positive side of freedom; now man had that freedom to use the body in a cooperative effort to liberate himself. But it was also this very same freedom, given by God and used in a negative way, which led man to *death* and separation *ab origine*. It is true, therefore, that man can be in bondage to freedom. In short, freedom is something to be used, and depending on the direction, it can be liberating or enslaving. For the Cappadocians, the emphasis clearly was in the positive and remedial direction for the use of the body.

For Nyssa the distance between God and man is infinite. Man does not become like God by some sort of transubstantiation in which he shares the essence of God. Rather, man's *movement* toward perfection is itself perfection. Man is in a state of an 'endless seeking,' which is never satisfied.⁶ The finite creature cannot contain the infinite all at once. His perfection or liberation is an ongoing process in which he 'grabs' God's energies (*energia*) which are emitted from God's essence (*ousia*). Already we see a distinction which will penetrate the whole Orthodox East, i.e., the distinction between God's essence and energy; man

4 J. Danielou and H. Musurillo, *From Glory to Glory* (New York, 1961), p. 14.

5 Ibid., pp. 11-13.

6 Armstrong, pp. 3-4.

can continue accumulating the energies but he never reaches that essence which belongs to the 'Self' of God and is unsharable with man. More of this will be uncovered in the discussion of Saint Gregory Palamas, but for now it is important to note that liberation means a movement *via* the growth which comes as we acquire the energies of God. Often the Greek Fathers used the analogy of the sun and its rays to express the same meaning as the essence and the energies of God. This idea may be difficult for the western mind to grasp inasmuch as western philosophy has been captured by an 'ownership' syndrome. Western man needs to possess something so as to 'put-it-in-his-pocket' as an ending point. Perfection or liberation to him may be a particular point reached in a linear sense, rather than an ongoing process. On the other hand, for the Greek mind, although a point is reached, that point is only a next step.

The Actual Ascent as a Liberating Way.

Fathers Jean Danielou and Herbert Musurillo, in their book *From Glory to Glory*, point out three stages to Nyssa's ascent. The first is "the way of light" which is for beginners. This starts as the struggle against the passions (*pathos*) and leads to a 'passionless' state (*apatheia*). Reaching this state of *apatheia* man sees the light of God, since it is at this very point, where "the soul seeks to unify its faculties by turning away from the multiplicity of external things."⁷ In simple terms, therefore, *apatheia* means not only turning away from bodily inclinations as such, but also a real process of 'centering' which begins with an overcoming of and detachment from all worldly distraction.

The second stage in the growth pattern is "a knowledge of God within the mirror of the soul." Now man finds an awareness of grace, a sense of the presence of God within himself. This sense is not a direct knowledge of God, just as we cannot look directly at the sun, but a feeling of activity in our inner souls, which satisfies the soul for a while, but finally can lead to the third stage. The soul now discovers that the more it makes progress, the more it realizes that God transcends all that it can ever know of him. This—the third stage—is the "knowledge of God in darkness."

Nyssa, of course, was not alone in this "growth into darkness" or negative (*apophatic*) approach. *The Cloud of Unknowing* and Saint John of the Cross (*Dark Night of the Soul*), as well as Evagrius Pontikos, Dionysios the Areopagite, and other Greek Fathers have expressed it. Upon entering this third stage, one at first despairs intellectually. But despair ends when one discovers that to find God is to seek him without end.⁸

For Gregory of Nyssa, therefore, unlike many others who present a Christian 'way' (e.g., Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* or Saint Ignatius

⁷ Danielou and Musurillo, p. 24.

⁸ Ibid., p. 26.

Loyola's *Exercises*), liberation to God passes through the enlightenment by grace and forges beyond. Nyssa's 'way' is an activity, at once self-motivating and satisfying, which ends at a 'non-ending,' in terms of the inaccessibility of God's essence.

What happens to the soul when it reaches this knowledge of darkness is precisely a state of "ecstasy" in which the soul "goes out of itself" ⁹ and is "liberated" from the laws of its own nature and intelligence. In the language of liberation, the soul is set free to "yearn" (and for Nyssa yearning is synonymous with love), to yearn constantly to progress into that darkness. Liberation to God now depends on a state of tension (*epektasis*) which causes one to see at each step, the next step in a transcending movement. Each step nourishes the next step. This is not the cyclic motion of bodily nourishment which fills up and is emptied, but instead the ascent has its own capacity to increase at each step of receiving. It can keep 'taking in' without emptying, always being filled to capacity and yet, paradoxically, always able to receive more. Liberation, therefore, may disappoint, or better, may 'frustrate' the intellect, but never the soul.

Palamite Hesychia (Hesychasm)

Some one thousand years after Gregory of Nyssa, Saint Gregory Palamas, in the midst of controversy, affirmed a similar attitude toward liberation. He was, however, more exact in terms of method, although he continued within the tradition of the Cappadocians and Dionysios.

Palamas begins with the affirmation that it is impossible to apprehend God by reason. Man is liberated when he reaches 'quietness' or (*hesychia*), in which God's divine light or energies are seen within man himself. But knowledge about God and life in God, or communion with God, are two different things. The fact that God cannot be known rationally does not mean that he is 'inaccessible.' Palamas bases the possibility of communion or common union with God upon the properties of human nature itself and man's place in the universe. ¹⁰

In making his point about human nature, Gregory Palamas compares man with the angelic world. Man is endowed with the divine image to a greater degree than the angel; the spiritual world (angels) does not have what man possesses, i.e., a body. Body can be used as a positive attribute of man, enabling him to commune with God in a greater way than the angel. Gregory says, "Now the body, under the influence of the soul, can experience a certain spiritual state." ¹¹ *Apatheia*, therefore, is not mor-

⁹ Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁰ B. Krivoshein, "The Ascetic and Theological Teaching of Gregory Palamas," EQC 3 (1938), pp. 26-33, 71-84, 138-56, 193-214, J. Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, trans. G. Lawrence (London, 1964), pp. 134-56.

¹¹ Krivoshein, p. 71.

tification of physical passion, but rather its new and better energy.

Staying in the category of body-use, a great role is assigned to the heart. The heart is the principal center of man's spiritual life: "We know that the heart is the organ of thought—'for out of the heart proceeds thoughts.' " ¹² Father Meyendorff, in speaking of the role of the heart, concludes that, "It is therefore to the heart that the intelligence must 'descend' to refine its 'stability,' and thus re-establish the inner harmony destroyed by sin." ¹³ There is a deeper knowledge, therefore, of God than that which comes only through the intellect.

There are various aids to prayer connected with man's possession of a body. Palamas insists on the importance of the following as part of the method: (1) The coordinating of prayer with breathing, or more exactly with 'in-breathing.' In this way the mind is confined to the body where it joins the heart, and (2) The assumption of a certain position of the body during prayer. This means that one usually sits with one's head bent and eyes directed to the chest or lower down to the place of the navel. ¹⁴ But one important point must be made before continuing. Palamas and most of the hesychast monks teach that this method of breathing is a mere aid; it is a help mostly for the beginner to confine his mind within himself and focus on the region of the heart.

When a person reaches the state where the mind remains within the body, he may not need the use of 'in-breathing.' This is now, indeed, a 'state,' while 'in-breathing' is labor and effort to reach that state. The love that we have for God is measured by these efforts.

One may also concentrate on 'centering' in this liberating process. Reference here is to that much discussed use of focusing one's attention upon the navel, ¹⁵ which is the gathering up of the mind into itself and the concentration on one focal point. This practice presupposes that the center of one's personality is not the mind, but the mysterious depths of our being.

It should be stated quite clearly, however, that both 'in-breathing' and use of the 'focal point,' are means to an end. That end is making contact and getting in touch with God's image or energies within ourselves, thus finding *hesychia*. With *hesychia*, in turn, we are able to experience the uncreated Divine Light already deposited in man at creation.

Liberation to Palamas, therefore, means the possibility of a way of contacting God. That contact can be made through our own human properties in which we are capable of passing through *apatheia* to *hesychia*

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Meyendorff, p. 147.

¹⁴ Krivoshein, p. 73.

¹⁵ Barlaam accused Palamas and the Hesychasts, because of this practice, of being *omphalopsychoi*, or that they believed the soul to be situated in the navel. Fr. Meyendorff goes into much detail on this matter in *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, p. 145.

using various aids cited below.

Use of the 'Jesus Prayer' as Means to Liberation

"Oh, Lord, Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me, a sinner." This prayer can be said without the breathing method, contrary to the belief held by many who think the two must be used simultaneously. If the 'Jesus Prayer' is said with bodily movements, such movements are secondary and performed with an experienced guide or elder (*geron*).

Timothy Ware in his introduction to *The Art of Prayer* distinguishes three stages of prayer of the lips, of the mind, and of the heart. (These degrees can easily be applied to the use of the 'Jesus Prayer' in the process of inner liberation, which is being achieved when a person finally reaches into the heart where he experiences God through Jesus Christ). These stages are as follows:

1) Oral prayer: the words are said aloud or formed silently by the lips and tongue. But already attention must be concentrated on the *meaning* of the prayer. Furthermore, during this initial stage, repetition makes it very difficult to concentrate on the meaning. Here persistence is the key.

(2) Second stage: the prayer now becomes more inward and the mind repeats it without any outward movement of lips and tongue. It now gradually acquires a rhythm of its own, or as Saint Theophan the Recluse calls it, a "small murmuring stream."

(3) Finally, the prayer enters the heart, dominating the entire personality. Its rhythm is identified more and more closely with the movement of the heart, until it becomes unceasing. What originally required strenuous effort is now an inexhaustible source of peace and joy.¹⁶

But here the structure of the prayer itself is important to its use in inner liberation. To begin with, the prayer has its roots in the New Testament, where in many places (e.g., Jn 16.24, Acts 4.10-12 or Phil 2.9-10) the name of Jesus Christ is emphasized. Actually, there are similar traces in the Old Testament where a special reverence is expressed for the name of God, the *tetragrammaton* which no one is to pronounce aloud.¹⁷

The prayer is intensely christological; it concentrates on the person of Christ Jesus. This concentration takes us back immediately to the Nicene faith where it was declared that *theosis* or liberation to God is dependent on the dual nature of Christ. In the prayer, the words "Jesus Christ" emphasize humanity while "Son of God" emphasize "of one essence" with the Father. The formula for man's liberation is complete in Christ's nature. Man can be "like God" in his own human way because God became man in the Incarnation.

The prayer is also intensely simplistic; it is referred to as a 'single word' or (*monologia*). Father Meyendorff explains: "The positive element in

16 T. Ware, *Introduction to the Art of Prayer* (London, 1967), p. 28.

17 Ibid., p. 29.

man's spirituality, acquisition of grace and of life in Jesus Christ, is based on the uninterrupted 'monological prayer' (*proseuche monologistos adialeptos*). This prayer is a 'memory of God' (*mneme tou Theou*) in which one is in the conscious state of activity; 'to pray without ceasing' (1 Th 5.17)."¹⁸

The prayer, therefore, centered around the name Jesus Christ, is not only a means, but also an end in itself; that is, it is an energy in itself, a revelation of God to which "every knee should bend." One can see, because of its potent contents, how it has been at the center of prayer life in the Orthodox East.

The 'Jesus Prayer' with Hesychasm

As has been implied earlier, the prayer can be used with the hesychastic method. What this method has as its destination is that we must in some way 'fasten' to our breathing the name of Jesus Christ. When the divine name is so united with the breathing process, *hesychia* is reached. The central method, in other words, combines the meaning of the 'Jesus Prayer' with the psycho-physical make-up of man. Nikodemos the Hagiorite, in his *Manual of Exhortations*, gives advice which explains how this combination is effected:

Beginners should grow accustomed to bringing about this return of the spirit to the heart by lowering their heads and by resting their beards upon their chests. The breath is held for a moment because this facilitates the dissipation of the spirit. One will practice this exercise in the evening for one or two uninterrupted hours, in a dark and peaceful place. In this way, the spirit is recollected and returns to the heart.¹⁹

Little more should be said about this combination of the prayer and hesychasm. Much literature has been produced concerning the use of the 'Jesus Prayer.' My intent has not been to describe its use in great detail. What is important is that the prayer has been used extensively, and is capable, when used in the larger context of the sacramental life of the Church, of continuing usage in the process of liberation.

What has been presented here is only an overview of a possible 'Orthodox way' to liberation. Obviously, there is much more to be said.²⁰ It should be made clear (and perhaps this is the best point on which to conclude this paper) that in traditional Orthodox countries, the 'Jesus Prayer' has been used not only by monks, but also by lay people who desire to "stand in the presence of God." The pilgrim (in *The Way of the*

¹⁸ Meyendorff, p. 141.

¹⁹ Quoted in A Monk of the Eastern Church, *The Prayer of Jesus* (New York, 1967), p. 63.

²⁰ Cf. T. Hopko, "Orthodox Spirituality," in *Christian Spirituality East and West*, ed. J. Aumann, T. Hopko, and D. G. Bloesch (Chicago, 1968).

Pilgrim), who begins with 3,000 repetitions of the prayer and goes on to 12,000, is the greatest example. He finally stops counting and unites the prayer with his every breath and heartbeat. A state is reached where no word is spoken; quantity turns into quality, ending with the prayer being inscribed on his heart. He discovers, being overcome with happiness, that the "Kingdom of God is within you."

It is easy to see in the example of the 'pilgrim' the dangers of using 'form without the content.' But the Orthodox Church has always taught that the pilgrim's method, as well as any other method of prayer, is meant to be part of the total sacramental life of the Church. A Christian life is never compartmentalized, but is an 'interaction of sources,' a fully integrated schema of the aspects of life to which our Lord calls us. It is necessary to reemphasize that such a schema as presented here is not relegated to the monastic ranks, because Jesus Christ came for all, and there is a need and desire for all people, like the pilgrim, to see the Kingdom of God within themselves.

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ATHANASIOS KOMNENOS HYPsilANTES: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

In addition to his main historical books, Athanasios Komnenos Hypsilantes also wrote a book containing short biographies of learned Greeks, but no one ever wrote his biography. In fact, not one line is dedicated to him even in dictionaries and encyclopedias. This is the first attempt to present his life and work. In this effort, some difficulties arise since no other sources of biographical information are available besides his own writings.

Hypsilantes was born on 29 August 1711 in Therapeia (a suburb of Constantinople), in his mother's house, which was later to become the bishop's residence of the metropolis of Derkoi. His father, Theodoros, held a high office at Jassy, Moldavia, while his mother, Kassandra Tzanetos, was the daughter of a rich merchant who lost his fortune. Both of Athanasios Hypsilantes' parents died of the plague in 1741.

In 1724, Athanasios went to Jassy with his father and there in the Monastery of Vornovsky he was educated by the teacher Father, Nathanael Kallonaros, a native of Chios who was also the teacher of the children of Michael Racovitsa, the prince of Moldavia. Michael Racovitsa later lost his position and was succeeded by Gregorios Gikas, interpreter of the Sublime Porte. When this happened, both Kallonaros and Theodoros Hypsilantes went to Constantinople with Michael, while Athanasios stayed behind in Jassy with a relative, waiting for his father to obtain a position in the service of the new prince and return. When his father did return to Jassy, Athanasios traveled to Constantinople where once more he joined his teacher and fellow students.

As was the custom of young men of his time, at twenty years of age Athanasios traveled to Italy in 1731 to study philosophy and medicine in the cities of Padua, Bologna, Venice, and Florence. He remained in Italy until 1737 when he obtained a doctor's degree in medicine and philosophy at the University of Padua. In December he embarked at Venice and sailed back to Constantinople, via Kerkyra, arriving in the middle of January 1738.

In the following year the prince of Moldavia, Gregorios Gikas, invited him to Jassy and appointed him his chief physician. Later, when the prince lost his post and was banished to the island of Tenedos, Athanasios returned to Constantinople. There he became attached to the governor of Egypt, Ragip Pasha, in whose service he remained for

several years.

In May 1744 he went with the pasha to Alexandria, where he came into contact with Patriarch Kosmas of Alexandria (1737-1746), formerly Metropolitan of Pissidia. To his sorrow, Athanasios came face to face with the poverty of the Patriarchate of Alexandria and with its enormous indebtedness. The buildings belonging to the Patriarchate were in a ruinous condition. Hypsilantes, therefore, decided to assist the Patriarchate and came to the aid of Patriarch Kosmas and his successor Patriarch Matthaïos (1746-1765). As a physician, he obtained a prominent position in Alexandria, as there were few other medical doctors; so he thus became acquainted with many wealthy people and also enjoyed the continuous favor of the pasha.

When Ragip Pasha was transferred to Aidin in Asia Minor, Athanasios accompanied him there in February 1749. They remained there for a short time only, owing to the many intrigues which caused Ragip Pasha to be transferred to Edessa (Urfa) in Mesopotamia, where they arrived after a very difficult journey in February 1750. In this far-away town of Syria, Athanasios led a very hard life. Nonetheless, he occupied himself by writing his historical works and by participating in the struggle of the Orthodox against the Roman Catholic missionaries. The Roman Catholics had already begun a vast campaign in Syria to proselytize the Orthodox population. Athanasios, who was very strongly devoted to Orthodoxy, deeply regretted these un-Christian actions, and therefore tried to curtail their efforts. He paid great attention to the problem and relates in some detail his activities against the Roman Catholic missionaries and their Uniate adherents.

At this time, Aleppo in Syria was the center of Roman Catholic propaganda. There the Orthodox Metropolitan Sophronios of Aleppo was imprisoned by the pasha of the city on account of accusations made against him by some inhabitants who had become Uniates. Sophronios turned to Hypsilantes, begging for his help to obtain his liberty. Athanasios then secured the intervention of Ragip Pasha, who wrote a letter to the kadi (judge) of Aleppo asking for the release of the imprisoned Metropolitan. Sophronios was freed but he was forced to give a letter to the Roman Catholics promising to pay a sum of money to a Turkish mosque of the city, a promise he found difficult to fulfill. The freed Metropolitan went first to Laodicea, then to Patmos, and after two years to Constantinople, refusing to return to Aleppo. Meanwhile, the Roman Catholics succeeded in re-establishing the Uniate Metropolitan Maximos (1751) in the Metropolis of Aleppo, and in taking over the bishop's residence, the library, the churches, and the houses belonging to the Orthodox Church.

In 1755 Ragip Pasha was appointed to Aleppo and Hypsilantes accompanied him there. The city was in the hands of converts to the Roman Catholic Church, while Maximos continued to hold the metropolis. At

this time Sylvestros was Patriarch of Antioch with his see at Damascus. He wrote to Hypsilantes asking him to try and set the metropolis free from the usurper Maximos, who also had strong political influence, since his brother Mansouri Efendi, a convert to Islam, was a physician at the sultan's palace in Constantinople and frequently helped his brother the Metropolitan. Upon meeting Maximos, Hypsilantes asked him to show him his letter of appointment. Maximos informed him that it was kept by his brother in Constantinople. Hypsilantes conveyed this information to Ragip Pasha who wrote a letter to the Ottoman authorities in Constantinople; a copy of the same letter was sent to Patriarch Sylvestros by Hypsilantes. In Constantinople the Ottoman government decided to banish Maximos to Adana, and to reinstate Sophronios, the Orthodox Metropolitan, in his metropolis. But Sophronios refused to return to Aleppo and the Patriarch of Antioch, unable to find a new candidate for the see, wrote to Hypsilantes and to Patriarch Kyrillos of Constantinople to find a capable person to appoint to the metropolis. However, the Patriarch paid very little attention to the matter. Consequently, when the sultan's representative went to Aleppo, he sent Maximos into exile to Adana, but the metropolis, being vacant, remained in the hands of the Uniate priests.

At the end of 1756, Ragip Pasha obtained a high office in the capital and Hypsilantes accompanied him there in February 1757. While there, Hypsilantes decided to try to settle the question of the see of Aleppo. He asked Patriarch Kallinikos III for a letter of appointment for another metropolitan of Aleppo; the Patriarch sent him a letter sealed with his own stamp. But the Patriarch became afraid of repercussions of this deed. Consequently, he informed the head physician of the sultan, Moustafa, that he had given the letter of appointment to Hypsilantes out of fear and against his own will. The Patriarch then asked Hypsilantes to return the patriarchal letter threatening him with dire consequences if he refused. Facing this difficult situation, Hypsilantes returned the letter, and so the whole question of Aleppo remained unsettled. Later, Metropolitan Maximos was set free and returned from exile. Hypsilantes gives us a detailed account of this event because he was personally involved and wished to show his concern and zeal for Orthodoxy.

In Constantinople, Hypsilantes also had the opportunity to assist the Orthodox Church on many occasions. In recognition of his services, the Patriarch therefore confirmed upon him the office of 'Archon Grand Skevophylax of the Great Church of Christ' in the year 1759. The appointment was made by Patriarch Seraphim, former Metropolitan of Philippoupolis. Hypsilantes mentions this distinction with great pride. A year later the same Patriarch founded a school of higher learning in Constantinople where philosophical and theological subjects were taught. Hypsilantes became one of the four members of the school board. Later the famous teacher, Eugenios Voulgaris, was appointed professor at this

school. Unfortunately, however, after a short time the school was forced to close on account of financial difficulties. In the capital Athanasios had a very prominent place in Greek society and was also very well known among the Turks.

In 1764 he was promoted to the office of Protospatharios in Wallachia, an office he retained until 1765 when a new prince was appointed there. While he was in Wallachia, the Turks imposed a fine on the monks of Mount Athos. Hypsilantes tried unsuccessfully to free the monks of this burden. When the new prince arrived in Bucharest, Hypsilantes returned to Constantinople. Hypsilantes does not give us any essential information concerning his life there in Constantinople. But he does tell us how he became involved in the election of the new patriarch of Jerusalem.

Patriarch Parthenios of Jerusalem (1736-1766), being sick and paralytic, wished to be succeeded by Ephraim, a virtuous and learned clergyman, in preference to the other candidate, the Metropolitan of Caesarea (Palestine) who was an epileptic. The latter tried to acquire the see through the influence of Patriarch Samuel of Constantinople who had not yet decided his position on the matter. The Patriarch of Jerusalem asked Hypsilantes to urge the matter by visiting Patriarch Samuel and by requesting that he be shown the bishops' letters which the Patriarch had received recommending Ephraim's appointment. Hypsilantes visited the Patriarch and found that he did not agree with Parthenios and the bishops of Jerusalem and was not inclined to grant the letter of appointment to Ephraim, who in the meantime had been ordained bishop by the bishops in Jerusalem. Finally, Hypsilantes was successful in securing a letter of appointment for Ephraim. But in return, Hypsilantes had to promise to deposit fifteen *purses* (of silver) in the patriarchal treasury.

These events were followed by Hypsilantes' involvement in the Russian-Turkish war of 1770 which he describes in detail, since as a physician he was conscripted by the Turkish army. Unhappy there, Hypsilantes tried to obtain his release, but the vezir granted it to him only after he heard that his house in Neochorion had burned down.

From that time on, he lived in Constantinople writing his history, but nevertheless continuing to show a great interest in the affairs of the Church and of the Greek people. The Turks used his services when they needed him to handle various tasks. During the war of 1778, he was appointed dragoman (interpreter) of the Turkish fleet because the Turkish government needed to enter into negotiations with the Russians. He was appointed not only because he was a faithful subject of the sultan, but also because he was very knowledgeable of political affairs, and spoke several European languages. Hypsilantes was reluctant to accept the office because of the plague which was spreading in the army at that time; he therefore declined, stating that he was not capable of carrying out this

duty. The authorities, however, replied that it was an honor for him to serve the empire, and that since the appointment was already known to the sultan, Hypsilantes could not refuse it. So Athanasios sailed from the capital and arrived in Sampsous on the coast of the Black Sea in June. There he met the Kapudan Pasha, Hasan, the admiral who was in command of ten thousand men who were ravaged by the plague. So many died each day that it was difficult to bury them. He requested the admiral's permission to stay on board as he was afraid of the plague, but his request was denied. Hypsilantes met with the Russians, carried out the negotiations, and finally returned to Constantinople.

In the following year, Hypsilantes was once more in Bucharest, invited by the Voevoda Alexander Hypsilantes. He served in Roumania until 1782, when the Voevoda lost his post. He then returned to Constantinople.

Hypsilantes does not give us any information about himself for the next eight years. Perhaps he was again busy with his writing, but from time to time he sought to help other people. In 1788 Asme, the sister of Sultan Abdul Hamid, died and the sultan inherited a great deal of money and jewelry. The sultan, however, suspected that people in her entourage had held back a part of her fortune. He therefore imprisoned some and threatened to put them to death. Demetrios Skanaves, Asme's steward, was among those who were beheaded. Hypsilantes deeply felt the agony and despair of those imprisoned, and with the aid of another powerful friend, he visited them and enlisted the help of Patriarch Prokopios. Finally, they succeeded in setting the prisoners free. Hypsilantes had offered himself as guarantor, something others refused to do.

Hypsilantes relates how he became involved in the election of Metropolitan Anthimos of Caesarea (Palestine) to the vacant patriarchal throne of Jerusalem in 1788. Book Ten of his history ends with this incident. We could suppose that Hypsilantes died in the year 1789 and was not able to revise his work for a last time. Perhaps this explains why there are some basic errors in this work.

In his introduction, Archimandrite Germanos Afthonides of Mount Sinai, the editor of Hypsilantes' book, gives us some information about the author. He writes that Hypsilantes was distinguished by his love for his countrymen, his erudition, and his political wisdom. Hypsilantes' daughter, whose name was Saphtitza (Elizabeth), lived until after the year 1790 in her father's house in Neochorion, a suburb of Constantinople. She remained unmarried and died at a very old age. Hypsilantes also had a house in the Phanar where Patriarch Seraphim of Constantinople and Patriarch Parthenios of Jerusalem had each inscribed an epigram to his memory. His daughter often showed visitors the room where her father used to work. Hypsilantes' name is also mentioned in many ecclesiastical letters of his time and in the chronicles of the principality of Wallachia.

Hypsilantes' manuscript bears the title *Athanasios Komnenos Hypsilantes, Twelve Books of Ecclesiastical and Political Events* and covers events from the time of Julius Caesar to 1789. According to the editor, the last part of this work was lost, while many pages are missing from Book Eight.

The manuscript used by the editor belonged to the library of the Monastery of Mount Sinai and consists of ten volumes. Archbishop Konstantios of Sinai borrowed it from the author's daughter Saphtitza—who often spoke about it—and brought it to the monastery's library. But he never returned it to the daughter.

In the manuscript one observes various kinds of writings. In the first six books, the writing is quite clear and readable, but from Book Seven on it becomes very difficult to read and contains many errors. The language is quite peculiar; it is the language of the Phanariots. As a rule, Hypsilantes used good Greek, but with many Turkish words, especially when he refers to Turkish offices, taxes, and matters related to administration. Consequently, one needs a glossary to understand these foreign words.

The extant printed edition contains only three of the twelve books, i.e., Books Eight, Nine, and Ten, which bear the title *Twelve Books of Ecclesiastical and Political Events: Books Eight, Nine, and Ten, i.e., After the Fall of Constantinople 1453-1789* (Constantinople, 1870). The editor believed these three books were the more important ones. For the other books, the editor gives information regarding the contents, place, time, and circumstances under which they were written, in addition to material on the persons to which they were dedicated, and the historical background of the period of time covered.

In the introduction, Hypsilantes describes the character of the whole work, its purpose, and subject, and dedicates it to his parents as a token of his gratitude. According to his description, Book One begins with Julius Caesar and ends with the death of Laurentios, Bishop of Byzantium. It was written in Magnesia of Asia Minor, where he lived with Ragip Pasha, the governor of Aidin. Hypsilantes spent the time from 8 February 1748 to 14 November 1750 on this book which covers a period of 268 years.¹

Book two begins with Bishop Alypius of Byzantium and ends with the ascent to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople of Paul the Confessor (337-39, 341-42, 346-51), covering a period of 172 years. It is dedicated to Patriarch Parthenios of Jerusalem (1736-1766). The book was written while Hypsilantes was in Edessa of Mesopotamia and was completed in November 1752. Moreover, the book was written under very difficult circumstances as Hypsilantes was surrounded in that remote area by nomad

1 This calculation (and the ones which follow in this study concerning the time periods covered by each book) is cited here as given by Hypsilantes himself. The dates and calculations are not always accurate—hence the numerical discrepancies.

Arabs and a multitude of heretics: Monophysites, Monothelites. In addition, he had no books to aid him at all. He asked for books to be sent to him from Constantinople. Elias Fahri, interpreter of English in the consulate of Aleppo also sent him many books in various languages.

Book Three begins with Paul the Confessor and finishes with Patriarch Euthymios, i.e., from 337 to 496, a period of 155 years. The book is dedicated to Nathanael Klonares, Metropolitan of Ephesos, his former teacher; the author begs to give him his honest opinion and also expresses his gratitude for what he had offered him as his teacher. This book had also been written in Edessa by November 1752.

Book Four begins with the Patriarchate of Makedonios II (494-511) and ends with the death of Patriarch Thomas I (607-610) thus covering a period of 113 years. Likewise written in Edessa, it was finished by December 1753.

Book Five begins with Patriarch Sergios (610-638) and finishes with the death of Patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos (901-925), covering a period of 320 years. It is dedicated to Matthaïos, Patriarch of Alexandria (1746-1765). Hypsilantes informs us that this book contains supplementary material to two other historical works. The first is the work of Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem (1669-1707), *Dodekabiblos: Concerning the Patriarchs of Jerusalem* (Bucharest, 1715); the second is the *Eccelesiastical History*² of Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens (1703-1714). Hypsilantes' work gives a more complete account of this historical period. He completed this book in the same town in July 1755.

Book Six covers the time from Patriarch Stephen II (925-928) to the abdication of Patriarch John Kamateros (1198-1206), a period of 278 years. It is dedicated to Metropolitan Sophronios of Ptolemais in Palestine. He writes against the Roman Catholics on the occasion of the occupation of the metropolitan see of Aleppo by Maximos the Uniate metropolitan. He finished this book in Aleppo in December 1756.

Book seven begins with the Patriarchate of Michael Autorianos (1207-1213) and ends with the fall of Constantinople, covering a period of 246 years. Hypsilantes finished this book in Constantinople when he was there with Ragip Pasha.

Book Eight begins with the events of the Fall of Constantinople. Hypsilantes assures us that he is going to speak the truth, that he will not cover up crimes perpetrated for selfish reasons. He begs the Orthodox reader not to consider him slanderous because he is a just man granting the rightful praise to those who administered the Church of God well. The book, as noted above, begins with events relating to the fall of Constantinople and finishes with the death of Patriarch Kallinikos II (1689-1693, 1694-1702), i.e., a period of 248 years. Having consulted many books in foreign languages, he wrote Book Eight in his house in

2 At that time yet unpublished; the first edition was published in Vienna in 1783.

Neochorion on the Bosphoros within a three-year period, completing it in September 1768.

Book Nine begins with the Patriarchate of Gabriel II (1702-1707) and finishes with Patriarch Samuel (1736-1768, 1773-1774), covering a period of 67 years. This book was written in Constantinople.

Book Ten covers the time from Patriarch Meletios II (1768-1769) until the end of the patriarchate of Prokopios I (1785-1789), i.e., a period of 21 years. Hypsilantes began writing it in 1772 and completed it in 1789 in Neochorion.

Book Eleven is divided into two parts; a) a Persian history which he wrote in Alexandria where he had the opportunity to study in the patriarchal Library and the library of the metochion of the Monastery of Mount Sinai, located in Cairo; and b) a history of the Arab people which he finished in 1775 in the Phanar in his newly built home. Finally, Book Twelve also consists of two parts: a) a history of France and b) a history of Germany.

In his twelfth book, chapter one, he wrote about learned men under the title "Learned and Illustrious Men of the Nation from the Fall of Constantinople until Today." A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus discovered one half of the last section of Hypsilantes' manuscript in the library of the Theological School at Halki. This section also comprised the lives of learned men. Consequently, A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus published a part of these biographies in the series of E. Hurmuzaki, *Documenta privatoare la Istoria Romanilor*, volume 13 (Bucharest, 1909). He also published the missing pages from the edition of Germanos Afthonides. All these have been included in a photographic reproduction recently issued in Athens under the same title.

In an appendix to these twelve books Hypsilantes described the customs of the sultans and vezirs, the circumstances when the sultans were at war, the religious orders, the offices, the royal fleet, the army, the Arabs under the Ottoman Empire, the Tartars and Albanians, and various customs in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Cyprus.

As a faithful Christian and a Greek, Hypsilantes understands history as the work of God who governs the world with his divine providence. Like his contemporaries, he also thinks that God permitted the conquest and enslavement by the Ottoman Turks of the Greeks because of the latter's sins. Fatherland and Orthodox tradition are the two poles around which he turns, and he deeply regrets the tendency which he sees as the breaking of this tradition and the acquisition of a worldliness. His love of Orthodoxy and the Patriarchate makes him turn against the Roman Catholics who, at that time, were busy proselytizing the Orthodox people in Syria and elsewhere. It was a hard struggle which lasted for many years and which resulted in the loss of many Orthodox faithful who converted to Roman Catholicism.

One observes also his high moral standards as he often laments the

decadence of the Phanariots and clergymen who intrigued and tried to earn money, power, and prestige by selling lay offices and episcopal sees. All these, he writes, happened to the detriment of the Church and of the *genos* (nation). Not a rich man, Hypsilantes was never personally involved in such intrigues.

Unless one studies the manuscripts of the unpublished books, one cannot say what their contents look like or what value they have. The published books seem to be of an uneven value.

One must consider the difficult circumstances under which some of these books were composed in remote towns of Syria where there were few if any books available to be consulted. Hypsilantes found consolation and refuge in writing his history. His work follows a chronological order; he records events on a yearly basis and often his writing takes on the form of a diary. His narrative of the older history is based on information he found in books he consulted. It is, therefore, essential that those reference books be detected and that their sources be noted. When he writes about contemporary events one can observe a personal element which, like his personality, gives a vivid coloring to his writing. Ecclesiastical and political history are interwoven. In relating political events, Hypsilantes inserts information regarding the patriarchal church. Changes of patriarchs are often used as historical landmarks. As a Phanariot, he strongly relates to the Great Church, which is the center of the *genos* and the heart of the Orthodox Church. Therefore it is natural that he give these events precedence.

Translated by Ioanna Buttlar Clarke

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DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS

BASIL THE GREAT'S SOCIAL THOUGHT AND INVOLVEMENT

In a brilliant eulogy of his friend Basil, Gregory of Nazianzos advised his audience to go out, not far from Caesarea, the capital of the province of Cappadocia, and admire what he called “a new city,” a complex of philanthropic institutions, that was founded by Basil. Gregory said: “Walk not far from the city [of Caesarea] and behold the new city, a storehouse of piety, a common treasury of the wealthy, in which surpluses of wealth have been collected, where through his [Basil’s] exhortations all the necessary goods have been stored, which cannot be eaten by moth or become the pleasure of thieves, which cannot cause fights because of jealousy and become subject to ruin because of time, where disease is endured philosophically and sympathy is put to test.”¹ Basil was the first bishop, either of the Christian East or of the Christian West, who systematically organized philanthropic foundations—hospitals, hostels for poor travellers, homes for the aged, orphanages, and leprosaria; he was the first who made monasticism a redeeming social force and the Church an influential organization in several aspects of society—education, welfare, health, and Church and state relations.

The question is: what guided Basil to such a social policy and what was the philosophy behind all his activities? We know that Basil wrote profound theological essays, that he was a devout monk who reorganized monasticism and that he was a successful ecclesiastical administrator. How does one reconcile spiritual and theological interests with secular or societal concerns? There is no doubt that Basil was an extraordinary person. In the course of nearly 2,000 years, he remains one of the outstanding Church Fathers, for he possessed great learning, both secular and religious, was a man of deep spirituality, and had considerable administrative and organizational talents. Whether in his early life as a layman or in his later ministry as a clergyman, Basil inspires admiration and even imitation.

As a student, the young Cappadocian possessed an insatiable thirst for knowledge which took him to Byzantium, ‘the chief city in the East,’

1 Gregory of Nazianzos, *Logos 43. Epitaphios, eis Basileion*, PG 36:577: “Μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πρόελθε, καὶ θεάσαι τὴν καινὴν πόλιν, τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας ταμεῖον, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐχόντων θησαύρισμα, εἰς ὃ τὰ περιττὰ τοῦ πλούτου, ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ταῖς ἐκείνου παραίνεσιν ἀποτίθεται, σῆτας ἀποσειόμενα, καὶ κλέπτας οὐκ εὐφραίνοντα, καὶ φθόνου πάλιν καὶ καιροῦ φθорὰν διαφεύγοντα ἐν ᾧ νόσος φιλοσοφεῖται, καὶ συμφορὰ μακαρίζεται, καὶ τὸ συμπαθὲς δοκιμάζεται.”

which as early as the first half of the fourth century was filled with the best teachers and philosophers. From Byzantium he went on to 'Golden Athens,' the source of many good things.² Basil's broad education in the Greek classics and in the Christian scriptures shaped his mind and formed his social ethics, which determined the nature of his later ministry, a ministry guided by faith and reason, theory and practice.

Basil possessed a strong and independent personality. As a bishop, he became renowned for his courage before rulers and the powerful of the city; as a theologian, he excelled in the interpretation of Christ's gospel and as a good counselor and supporter of the faith; as an administrator he proved himself a strong guardian and champion of the Church's interest. In the words of Gregory of Nazianzos, Basil was a marvellous "symphony" between faith and deeds, most faithful in the principles of faith and most practical in external things.³ 'Symphony,' temperance, moderation were the principles that guided Basil—principles that reflect his Hellenic inheritance.

In searching for Basil's social philosophy⁴ we should always remember that there was nothing pretentious, nothing impressionistic or fake about him. He was totally given to the cause of God, with one objective in mind, to benefit God's people. For Basil, to love God meant to love man, whatever man's physical condition or background. He knew how to love, and his love was not "in word or speech but in deed and truth" (1 Jn 3.18). His great concern for the needy, the sick, the suffering, and the forgotten received its inspiration from what John the Evangelist wrote: "he who does not love his brother whom he has seen, he cannot love God whom he has not seen" (1 Jn 4.20). For Basil, doctrine and canon, worship and ethics, word and behavior were inextricably woven. The Greek concept of *philanthropia* and the Christian understanding of *agape* blended into a powerful ethic which determined his moral philosophy and social involvement. He believed that the Christian theologian or churchman neglects his true role if theology is pursued in academic, monastic, or ecclesiastical isolation from social existence. Theology exists for the ministry of the Church, and the ministry of the Church exists for society and the world, to personify the critical and transforming energy of human existence.

Basil applied these principles in all aspects of his pastoral ministry, in-

2 Ibid., 513: "Ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν προκαθημένην τῆς Ἑώας πόλιν." "Τὰς Ἀθήνας τὰς χρυσάς . . . καὶ τῶν καλῶν προξένους."

3 Ibid., 541: Basil's "θαυμαστὴ συμφωνία . . . τῶν ἔνδον ὁ πιστότατος . . . τῶν ἐκτός ὁ πρακτικώτατος."

4 There are several good studies on Basil's social thought including Panagiotes K. Chrestou, *Ἡ Κοινωνιολογία τοῦ Μεγάλου Βασιλείου* (Athens, 1951); S. Giet, *Les Idées et l'action sociales de saint Basile* (Paris, 1941). For a complete bibliography see Konstantinos G. Bonis, *Βασίλειος Καισαρείας ὁ Μέγας* (Athens, 1975), esp. pp. 170-79, and J. Quasten, *Patrology*, 3 (Westminster, Md., 1960), pp. 204-36.

cluding monasticism. In the conflicts between various forms of monasticism, especially between anchoritic and coenobitic, Basil achieved a harmony so that the hermits were not deprived of opportunities to communicate and the activists, of opportunities to be taught.⁵

In order to appreciate the magnitude of Basil's contributions to Christian sociology, we first need to know something about the conditions, both natural and man-made, that prevailed in fourth century Cappadocia. (This, of course, is an enormous topic, and here we can only scratch its surface.) Poverty was an endemic social phenomenon. The plight of the poor and destitute beggars and the circumstances under which ordinary laborers and artisans lived were extremely difficult, not only because of famines or the apathy of the rich and the arrogance of the powerful, but also because of the climatic conditions that prevailed in Anatolia. Basil speaks of the extreme cold in winter and the extreme heat in summer. In his letters he constantly complains about lack of communication because of heavy snowfalls that made the roads impassable. He writes of blizzards that buried people in their houses or in their huts; he records furious rains which caused much suffering; he complains of unpredictable hailstorms, cloudbursts, torrents, floods, and droughts.⁶ Basil's health was affected by these climatic extremes.⁷

While all classes of people were affected by natural catastrophes, the life of the poor was made even more intolerable by additional man-made causes. Basil describes the state of the poor as a shame to the rich Christians. Many poor people walked around in "ill smelling rags." Others had no money and no clothes, and their possessions were worth only a few obols. Some were willing to sell their children into slavery in order to buy bread and prevent the death of other members of the family. Others preferred death to selling any of their kin. Great numbers of poor people died of starvation between 368 and 375.

Under the prevailing circumstances, Basil became a social redeemer. He constantly urged state officials, churchmen, and monks and the wealthy and prominent members of society to introduce measures in behalf of the needy or to assist them personally; and he never spared himself in serving the hungry, the naked, and the sick, whose sores he washed with his own hands. He denounced wealthy farmers for their avarice as well as merchants and traders for their greed and unjust measures. Whether in the country or in the city, an immoral wealthy man

5 Gregory of Nazianzos, *Logos 43*, PG 36:577: "τούτους ἀριστα κατήλλαξεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνεκέρασεν . . . ἵνα μήτε τὸ φιλόσοφον ἀκοινώνητον ἦ, μήτε τὸ πρακτικὸν ἀφιλόσοφον."

6 Basil, *Epistles*, nos. 30, 48, 112, 156, 198, 242, 321, in *Βασιλείου Καισαρείας τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀπαντα τὰ Ἔργα*, ed. by P. K. Chrestou, S. N. Sakkos, B. S. Pseutogas, Th. N. Zesis, 1, 2, and 3 (Thessalonike, 1972-74). See also M. M. Fox, *The Life and Times of St. Basil the Great as Revealed in His Works* (Washington, 1939).

7 Basil, *Epistles*, no. 216.

was perceived as a poor neighbor, because he persecuted or discriminated against his less prosperous neighbors, forcing them to sell their property.

Basil was merciful to sinners but merciless to sin, such as usury. The law allowed up to 12 per cent interest, but many merchants, traders, and landowners evaded or even violated the law and exacted 15 per cent and even more. Basil not only strongly denounced usurers and their methods but also reprimanded even those of his people who carelessly or unnecessarily incurred debt. Citing the sixth century lyric poet, Theognis of Megara, Basil stressed that it is better for people to live in poverty and in virtue than to allow love of ease and pleasure to make them slaves to the unscrupulous among the wealthy. Like Diogenes and Socrates, Basil preferred inner freedom to attachment to material possessions.⁸

Nevertheless Basil did not condemn material possessions and wealth *per se*; he condemned extravagance, luxury and unethical and selfish use of wealth. In his social homilies Basil used economic or even "capitalistic" terminology. He pointed out to the rich their duties to the poor and to those in distress, but he also emphasized the benefit of the just investment of wealth. The use of money is good and profitable not only for the investor but also for the public. The more we use the waters of a well, the better for the well and its water. Like the waters, which when not used become stagnant and polluted, unused wealth becomes unproductive and useless.⁹ When a man uses his wealth in works for the common good, the benefit returns to the giver, just as Solon, the wise sixth century Athenian, had advised that wealth is no end in itself,¹⁰ Basil counseled the wealthy to imitate the good earth, which produces fruit and vegetables not for its own sake but for all people.¹¹ Wealth in itself is neither benign nor malignant; it is neutral. Wealth is not an end; man is the end, and no man, no matter how poor or socially unimportant, should be manipulated by any person, institution, or state.

In addition to his homilies and letters, an unsuspected source for a study of Basil's social thought is his Liturgy, especially several of his very beautiful and profound prayers. Many scholars and ordinary laymen have observed the mysticism of the Liturgy, its theology and its spirituality, but few have written of, or even observed, the Liturgy's social dimensions. Basil's Liturgy is a springboard for social action and societal involvement. The petitions and prayers are not meant to be

8 Basil, *Πρὸς τοὺς Νέους*, par. 8, *ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 352-55.

9 Idem, *Εἰς τὸ 'καθελῶ μου τὰς ἀποθήκας,'* *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 338: "Τὰ φρέατα ἐξαντλούμενα εὐφορώτερα γίνεται, ἐναφιέμενα δὲ κατασέπεται· καὶ πλούτου τὸ μὲν στάσιμον ἄχρηστον, τὸ δὲ κινούμενον καὶ μεταβαῖνον κοινωφελὲς τε καὶ ἔγκαρπον."

10 Idem, *Πρὸς τοὺς Νέους*, vol. 7, p. 352: "πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι κεῖται."

11 Idem, *Εἰς τὸ 'καθελῶ μου τὰς ἀποθήκας,'* *ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 328: "Μίμῃσαι τὴν γῆν ἄνθρωπε· καρποφόρησον ὡς ἐκείνη, μὴ χεῖρων φανῆς τῆς ἀψύχου."

rhetorical exclamations, poetic romanticism, or supplications for God alone to hear; they are meant to penetrate man's heart and mind and become an impetus for *agape* in *diakonia*—love in practice.

For Basil, the Liturgy was prayer and religious education, but it was also an invitation for the metamorphosis of the congregation as well as of society. The presentation of a common chalice for communion with God and with each other was a reminder to all communicants to see themselves as equals, as members of the same organism, in which all suffer when any one member suffers. The prayers remind the faithful of the poor and the sick, of the weak and the powerless, of orphans and widows, of the aged and captives, of travelers, and of those in prison, in the mines, in hard labor.¹²

As we have indicated, Basil put his faith into action. When he returned from his studies in Athens, to Caesarea in 356, he was ordained a deacon and served the church there until 360, when he decided to flee to the desert and live like an anchorite. Before his departure, Basil distributed to the poor the larger part of his possessions, which he had inherited from his father. Basil's was a wealthy family, with large estates spread over three provinces, and much of the family's income was used for philanthropic purposes. His social concern, however, was expressed in many ways a few years later when he returned to Caesarea from the desert. After he was ordained in the priesthood, Basil became the foremost assistant of Bishop Eusebios. From 356 to 370, as presbyter on Eusebios' staff, Basil initiated several philanthropic activities. In the great famine of 368, he served as the local church's protagonist in philanthropic works. He delivered a series of sermons against profiteers and against the indifferent rich, while at the same time urging all to come to the assistance of those who were suffering. He himself organized free meals for all the poor, including visiting foreigners, Christians, pagans, and Jews alike. It was during that social crisis that he dispersed the remaining portion of his paternal inheritance in order to help the poor.¹³

Basil's belief that man is a social being led him to emphasize that monastic life should be life in a community that expresses love for one's neighbor. From then on, a major part of Byzantine monasticism's philosophy emphasized social involvement and particular concern with the lowest strata of society. Monasticism was neither monolithic nor uniform, and the mainstream of the monastic movement was not anti-social. Monasteries were built not only in remote regions such as Mount Athos and Mount Olympos in Asia Minor, but also near cities and towns and within the walls of cities. Constantinople itself had at one time

12 Idem, *Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία*, ed. Apostolike Diakonia tes Ekklesias tes Hellados, in *Ἱερατικὸν* (Athens, 1977), pp. 181-82. For an English translation see Joseph Raya and Jose de Vinck, *Byzantine Daily Worship* (Allendale, N. J., 1969), pp. 332-33.

13 Gregory of Nazianzos, *Logos 43*, PG 36:577.

nearly 345 monastic communities.¹⁴

The second major institutional innovation introduced by Basil was the systematic organization of philanthropic foundations. Following his ordination in the episcopate in 370, Basil used the inheritance from his mother's side and large donations from wealthy friends and acquaintances, even from his former enemy, Emperor Valens, to establish a complex of institutions—a general hospital, an orphanage, an old-age home, a hospice for poor travelers and visitors, a hospital for infectious diseases, and an institution for indigent people, where Basil took up residence. Collectively, Basil's institutions became known as *Basileias*, located on the outskirts of his see. The staff was composed of both laymen and clergymen. Basil's example was followed by the Byzantine Church for many centuries thereafter. Even today, sixteen centuries later, Basil is rightly revered in the Greek Orthodox world as the father of Christian philanthropy.

14 On the social orientation of early Byzantine monasticism see my book *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1968) esp. pp. 29-41, 88-110; Gilbert Dagron, "Les Moines et la ville - Le Monachisme à Constantinople jusqu' au concile de Chalcédoine (451)," *Travaux et Mémoires*, 4 (Paris, 1970), pp. 229-76, esp. pp. 253-61.

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the five (Saint Peter Damascene) or six (Saint Nikodemos the Hagiorite) categories of kinds of saints such as apostles, martyrs, prophets, hierarchs, and ascetic saints (*hosioi*), plus the righteous (*dikaioi*). Though the categories, teacher and confessor, are possible, they are generally subsumed under one of the six categories listed. Each of the categories represents a way of becoming a saint. *Askesis*—spiritual endeavor or training—is necessary. *Askesis* involves bodily and mental practices. Dr. Cavarnos discusses fasting, vigils, standing, prostration, and silence in connection with bodily practices; and repentance, concentration, meditation, inner attention, and prayer in connection with mental practices. Using the Greek Church Fathers to support his assertions, Professor Cavarnos points out that man cannot attain perfect purity without the help of divine grace. It is through divine grace that a radical purification of the inner man is effected. Dr. Cavarnos quotes Saint Seraphim of Sarov to stress the particular role of prayer:

Of course, every good work done for the sake of Christ gives us the grace of the Holy Spirit, but prayer provides it most of all, for prayer is, as it were, always at hand as an instrument for the acquisition of the grace of the Spirit... and its practice is available to everyone" (p. 44-45).

It is prayer that unites man with God. Dr. Cavarnos concludes with an eloquent quotation from Nikodemos the Hagiorite:

From union with God is born the discrimination of truth from falsehood; the perception of the hidden mysteries of nature; foresight and foreknowledge of things; Divine effulgence; illumination of the heart; the amazing and ecstatic love of God by all the powers of the soul; being caught up to the Lord; the revelation of the insoluble mysteries of God. In a word, from this union is born the *theosis* of man, which is longed for by all... and is the final end and purpose, God's foremost and highest goal (p. 45).

The Ways and Means of Sanctity, though brief and compact, is a rich source for identifying the essence of Orthodox Christian teaching.

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Bread for Life: Reading the Bible. By Theodore Stylianopoulos. Brookline, Massachusetts: Department of Religious Education, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1980. Pp. ix + 94. Paper, \$3.25.

Orthodoxy: Faith and Life. Volume One: *Christ in the Gospels.* By Bishop Gerasimos Papadopoulos. Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1980. Pp. 164. Hardcover, \$9.50; Paper, \$4.95.

The two books under review here admirably supplement each other. They constitute valuable aids for the study of the Bible, and emphasize an Orthodox Christian approach to the use of biblical materials, particularly the Gospels.

Father Theodore Stylianopoulos, who is Professor of New Testament and Eastern Orthodox Spirituality at Hellenic College and Holy Cross Orthodox School of Theology, offers us a very compact volume. Its basic purpose is "to introduce the average Christian to the message of the Bible and help him understand the value of the Bible as one of the great spiritual resources of our Orthodox Christian tradition" (p. v). As the "Book of Love," the Bible is for every Christian. The Church Fathers made a special point of regarding the New Testament, in particular, "as the foundation of truth from which the Church, under the teaching authority and pastoral guidance of the bishops, draws continuous spiritual nourishment for its faithful" (p. 9). Rich in content, "The Bible was for them not only the record of mighty acts of God for the salvation of the world, but also a living source of divine truths which nourished faith, enlivened hope and strengthened Christians in their spiritual struggle" (p. 12). The Orthodox point of view of the Bible is not fundamentalist but fundamental with regard to the sanctity and authority of the Bible. Father Stylianopoulos points out that the aim of Bible study is directed toward the experience of God by patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, and many others. The Bible concerns itself with who God is, who a human being is, what life is, what God has done for human beings, and how each human should respond to God. Father Stylianopoulos notes that "the Bible is not a neutral book. It proclaims God's great redemptive acts and invites a response, not to itself as a sacred book, but to God" (p. 19).

Professor Stylianopoulos goes on to discuss why we should study the Bible (dialogue with God, instrument of spiritual healing, help in facing temptation, a means of witness). The Bible is relevant for those who witness to God. "Prayerful reading of the Bible, whether in terms of particular passages or in terms of the central truths of Scripture, will lead the reader to experience the spiritual force of God's Word" (p. 44). In outlining methods in devotional reading of the Bible, the author emphasizes four spiritual attitudes (decision and resolve, prayer, trust in God, and yearning for truth) and four practical aspects for effective spiritual reading of the Bible (direct involvement, daily discipline, application, and record). Concerning group study methods, Father Stylianopoulos notes the importance of family reading but also shared reading with friends, relatives, guests, and parish Bible classes. In this regard, preparation, not so much teaching as sharing God's word, concentration on life issues and not on abstract ideas, and some practical suggestions (i.e., having your own Bible, availability of pencil and paper for note-taking, etc.) are detailed.

Needless to say, "The central goal of biblical study is to discover the Word of God for our day and to apply it" (p. 75). The Bible and Liturgy go together since "Liturgy is rooted in the Bible and the Bible is profoundly present in the Liturgy" (p. 78). Father Stylianopoulos even goes so far as to describe the Bible as a kind of liturgical book, and the narrative of the Bible as a kind of liturgical text. Finally, the author surveys current English versions and translations of the Bible and provides us with a brief bibliography.

Bishop Gerasimos Papadopoulos, who also taught New Testament Studies at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological School, offers us a book that "is neither a doctrinal nor a critical study of the Christian faith," but "a book that would provide a general yet comprehensive understanding of the person of Christ, of the Church, and of the beliefs and hopes of the Christian faith" (p. 5). Its fundamental purpose is "to assist the wise to become wiser by studying the Bible on his or her own and by penetrating more deeply into the mystery of the revelation in Christ. This book also attempts to help the reader feel and live his or her faith more consciously in the worship and life of the Orthodox Church" (p. 6).

Bishop Gerasimos, who has served the Orthodox Church in America (including service as Bishop of Boston and Pittsburgh) for over twenty-seven years and who has been a member of the monastic community of the Skete of Saint Anna on Mount Athos, appeals to the spiritual side of humankind and insists that religion is necessary for the wholeness of the human personality. For the Christian the Bible is indispensable, and the New Testament, particularly, "represents the new covenant, the new agreement which God made for the salvation of the world in the person of Christ" (p. 21). "The language of the New Testament presupposes, from its very first lines, faith in the divinity and lordship of the Savior Jesus Christ" (p. 21). Bishop Gerasimos describes his book as "a spiritual walk in the garden of these sacred writings so that we, too, may feel our life, the mystery of our salvation in Christ, as an act of God's love for us" (p. 24).

Christ in the Gospels provides the reader of the New Testament with a fairly comprehensive view of Christ and His teachings through the use of the Scriptures themselves. The fourteen chapters, "Religion and Revelation," "The Beginning," "St. John the Forerunner and the Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ," "The Galilean Ministry," "Jesus Encounters Opposition," "The Parables," "Jesus the Son of God," "Jesus Returns to Galilee," "Jesus in Judea," "Events Reported by John," "The Last Week," "The Passions and the Mystery of Love," "The Betrayal, Trial and Crucifixion," and "The Resurrection and Ascension," give us ample evidence of the person of Christ and the kingdom of God He came to bring us. His Grace takes the reader gently through the select passages that give us the total Christian picture of Christ as recorded in the New

Testament itself.

Throughout Bishop Gerasimos emphasizes the love of God: "But His love was unique. He loved everyone. He made the pain and the burden of people His own pain and burden. He loved us 'to the end'; He laid down His life for His friends. Christ was the love of God incarnate for our salvation; 'that is, God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself' " (Jn 3.16; 2 Cor 5.19-21) (p. 153).

There is no bibliography in *Christ in the Gospels*, but there is an index to New Testament and Old Testament references. There are no scholarly footnotes in this book which seeks to guide the committed reader to Christian truth: "Christian truth is the very mystery of God, of the world and of man; and as such it transcends every critical analysis. Though the person of Christ was revealed to us in history and in the realm of our everyday life, Christ will always lead us to the divine and to the external which is the source and the purpose of life and human existence" (p. 5).

Together *Bread for Life: Reading the Bible* and *Orthodoxy: Faith and Life—Christ in the Gospels* offer the reader excellent guides for, and to, the study of the Gospels.

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Politico-Historical Works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429). By David Balfour. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979. (In the series "Wiener Byzantinistische studien, no. 13). Pp. 320.

David Balfour, an Orthodox Christian linguist who has been working in Byzantine texts for a number of years, has presented the scholarly community with a valuable monograph of a series of *inedita* of Symeon of Thessalonike. Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonike during a tumultuous period of the early fifteenth century, was a fascinating character and prolific writer who played a prominent role in the affairs of both the Byzantine Empire and the Orthodox Church. Balfour's is a detailed work with a very narrow purview, focusing on the city of Thessalonike, one man, and the relatively brief period of his episcopacy. It is not a book for the popular reader and is meant for the specialist in the field. Although the author makes no claims to be an historian or a Byzantinist, he does a brilliant job of rendering eight of Symeon's texts, providing substantial background material to take the reader beyond the limits of the period in which he is writing.

Symeon was Archbishop of Thessalonike from 1416/17 until mid-September, 1429. He died about six months before the fall of the city to the Turks. Although he became one of the best known and most prolific

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special attention afforded this particular section. Throughout the text, meticulous notations document the trenchant insight and broad knowledge of the Patriarch.

The last few decades have seen a revaluation of Photian scholarship in the West. The present book, therefore, is quite timely. It allows one to see a clear exposition of Saint Photios' anthropology, of his doctrine of man. He so carefully ties the spiritual world to the realm of mundane politics that one immediately perceives that the unity of body and spirit is, for Saint Photios, to be clearly manifested in the unity of politics and personal morality. The authors of the book contend that this manifest unity bespeaks a humanism that anticipates Erasmus some six centuries later. In fact, Saint Photios is perhaps nothing more or less than the ideal Byzantine—neither an Erasmus, nor the political manipulator envisioned by less objective historiographies, but a great father who saw clearly the meeting of the heavenly and divine which was Byzantium.

This book, indeed, is a treasure to those who delight in the world of the Byzantines and who firmly accept the sincerity of Saint Photios' efforts to make the Bulgarian Khan a holy ruler. It provides rare insight into the hegemony of world and spirit which motivated the Byzantine ecclesiastics. For those yet fettered by antiquated historiographies and disapprobation of this great pillar of the East, *The Patriarch and the Prince* is a source of perhaps discomforting challenges.

I await anxiously further volumes in the Archbishop Iakovos Library.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
Ashland Theological Seminary and Ashland College

Die theologiegeschichtliche Stellung des Starzen Artemij innerhalb der Bewegung der Besitzlosen in Russland der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. By Günther Schulz. OIKONOMIA. Quellen und Studien zur orthodoxen Theologie unter Mitarbeit von Erich Bryner und Karl Christian Felmy herausgegeben von Fairy von Lilienfeld. Band 15. Erlangen, 1980. Pp. xxix + 295 + xxviii. Paper.

This doctor's dissertation was defended by the author before the Faculty of Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University in Greifswald (East Germany) in April, 1970. For understandable reasons it has had to await publication for ten years in West Germany under the auspices of the Seminar for History and Theology of the Christian East in Erlangen. Dr. Schulz lives at present in Naumburg, East Germany.

His work covers a short period in the complicated and turbulent history of the Church in Russia during the sixteenth century. The chief subject is the Staretz Artemios, sometime Hegumenos of the Troitsky Monastery, who was born in Pskov about 1505 and died perhaps about

1565. During his time in Moscow, he wrote a number of circular letters or pamphlets in which he aimed to set forth his views on the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church, and the Holy Tradition of the Church. These were substantially those of the Staretz Nil Sorski of whom he, like Vassian Patrikiev, was a follower. This placed him in the ranks of the Non-Possessors, or as Paul Miliukov calls them, the 'Non-Covetous,'¹ who were against the ownership of property by monasteries; they were also advocates of a type of spiritual Christianity which did not hesitate to be critical of traditional writings and resented the interference of secular authority in ecclesiastical matters. When Maximos the Greek, the learned monk of Mount Athos, came to Moscow in 1518 at the invitation of the Grand Duke to inform the Muscovites of the authentic tradition of the Greek Church, he found this group already in agreement with him.

There was, however, a very powerful opposition headed by the followers of Joseph Sanin, Hegumenos of the Volokolamsk Monastery (d. 1515), who were devoted to the strictest adherence to the inherited Russian tradition in every aspect. They wanted to establish a powerful national church with rich monasteries as guardians of faith and practice; they were the Possessors, or Covetous, and they prevailed during the century. From their monastery came successive metropolitans of Moscow: Daniel (1520-47), the opponent of Vassian; and Makarios, the opponent of Artemios (1543-69). Eventually, Vassian, Artemios, and Maximos were brought to trial, and the first two banished to the Solovetski Monastery. Maximos was held prisoner and not allowed to return to Greece, as he wished.

Nil Sorski died in peace, but his followers were accused of being sympathetic with the 'Judaizers,' a rather amorphous heresy which had attracted some sympathizers during the preceding century. They were not such themselves, but refused to advocate drastic punishment of persons accused of heresy. These non-belligerent views did not accord well with the zealots who favored the use of fire and sword to enforce conformity and obedience to their desired norm.

The circular letters of Artemios stem from the period 1545-50 or thereabouts; many have been published and identified, but no translations from Old Russian have been made. Dr. Schulz examines the Russian texts, lists them, goes over the work which has been done so far by others, and in the appendix to his dissertation (pp. i-xxviii) translates one entitled, "To One Who Asked Concerning the Word of God." There are no prior translations into a modern Western language.

The author examines the theology of Nil Sorski, Vassian, and Artemios, as well as that of the fiery Metropolitan Daniel. He tries to find out from their own identified writings, as well as from citations of

¹ Paul Miliukov, *Outlines of Russian Culture, Part 1: Religion and the Church*. Chapter two covers this area of Russian Church history very well.

other authors, just what were their views on the Scriptures, Tradition, the Fathers (chiefly Basil the Great, part of whose writings had been translated), and Christian life. It is hard to ascertain just how much they were affected by outside influences brought into Russia by merchants of Lutheran persuasion, Jewish traders, or Roman Catholics. Such ideas were current, but not prominent; the sect of the 'Judaizers' was finally destroyed by governmental force, but the next centuries were to see much more powerful outbreaks of heresy and schism. Artemios was not a heretic.

Dr. Schulz has done other work in this field and hopes to bring more of these texts to light. He has had the cooperation of East European and Russian scholars and libraries; but, as he says, "Soviet scholars are primarily interested in the historical aspects of this period, rather than in theological ones, and publication is apt to be delayed. The book is reproduced by photo-offset from typescript and is well done. We should hope that the publishers will be able to do more of such studies.

Stephen H. R. Upson

Orthodox-Unification Dialogue. Ed. C. N. Tsirpanlis. Conference Series No. 8. New York: The Rose of Sharon Press, Inc., 1981. Pp. x + 139. Paper.

The present volume deserves to be brought to the attention of all students of Orthodoxy because it is not likely to be otherwise easily noted. The book itself is the result of two conferences on Orthodox and Unification theology that took place within the same year (1978) at the Unification Theological Seminary in Barrytown, New York, on April 15th and October 14th respectively. The conferences were organized by the indefatigable Dr. Constantine Tsirpanlis and had as their central themes: "Man's Nature and Destiny" and "The Concept of Salvation in Orthodox Theology and Unification Thought." Dr. Constantine Cavarinos of Hellenic College and Dr. Sebastian Matczak of St. John's University (New York) delivered papers on "Man's Nature and Destiny: the Orthodox Teaching as Conveyed by Icons and Hymns" (pp. 1-20) and on "Human Nature in the Unification View and in Christian Tradition" (pp. 21-33) respectively at the first conference. At the second conference, Dr. Cavarinos presented "The Orthodox View of Salvation" (pp. 52-65); Dr. Matczak, "The Role of Jesus in Man's Salvation According to Unification Thought and Christian Tradition" (pp. 75-97); Dr. Constantine Tsirpanlis offered "The Blessed Virgin's Place in God's Redemption According to the Church Fathers and Unification Thought" (pp. 98-107); and Franz Feige (Drew University elucidated "Salvation As Restoration in Unification Thought" (pp. 115-23); while Professor James Kleon

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Another group of studies refers to heretical or marginal texts. I note first Study 11 in which the author presents a radical view. By basing his argumentation on some impressive parallels between the propositions from the *Chapters* of Constantinos Chrysomallos, which were condemned in the Synod of 1140 as Bogomile, and the homilies of Symeon the New Theologian, in addition to other internal evidences, Gouillard ascribes the authorship of the homilies of Symeon to the pupils of Chrysomallos. These men, after the condemnation of their teacher, took some important elements of his teachings and composed these homilies, put them under the name of Symeon, and edited them together with well-known works of Symeon. Up to now these homilies were thought to have been edited by Niketas Stethatos on the basis of some texts and formulations of Symeon. The author's main argument for his hypothesis is that in homily 13, it is said that the Devil has an evil past of 6600 years, which brings us to the year 1091, too distant from the year of the death of Symeon, now placed by Westerners in the year 1022. This reviewer places the year of Symeon's death much later, and believes that Niketas Stethatos might have lived to 1091. Since not all of the propositions condemned by the Synod appear in the homilies, and since many scholars date the first manuscript, preserving the homilies of Symeon, earlier than the date of the Synod, the best solution might be that the homilies of Symeon suffered slight contamination by some Messalian expressions.

In Studies 12 and 13, the work of two ascetic writers somewhat neglected up to now—Petros Damaskenos of the twelfth century and Theognostos of the fourteenth—is evaluated.

The literary work bearing the name of Theodore of Edessa is characterized by the author as either pseudepigraphical or borrowed (14).

Panagiotes Chrestou

Does Chalcedon Divide or Unite? Towards Convergence in Orthodox Christology. Edited by Paulos Gregorios, William H. Lazareth, and Nikos A. Nissiotis. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1981. Pp. xii + 156. Paper \$7.95.

The year 1981 marked more than 1500 years since the Synod of Chalcedon (451) and the 1600th anniversary of the Synod of Constantinople and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed—both events of enormous significance for Christianity and especially for the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches. By 'Eastern,' it is commonly agreed, is meant the one Church which is made up of the four ancient Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; the modern Patriarchates of Russia, Rumania, Serbia, and Bulgaria; and the autocephalous churches such as Cyprus and Greece. By 'Oriental' is

meant the five ancient Churches of Egypt, Syria, Armenia, India, and Ethiopia. Concern has been expressed in the twentieth century for finding ways to heal the 1500-year-old schism between the Eastern Orthodox who have affirmed, and the Oriental Orthodox who have rejected, the Christological dogma of the Synod of Chalcedon that Christ is one person in two natures, which are united unconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, and inseparably. With the active support of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches, four unofficial consultations between Eastern and Oriental Orthodox have taken place between 1964-1971 at Aarhus, Denmark (11-15 August 1964); Bristol, England (25-29 July 1967); Geneva, Switzerland (16-21 August 1970); and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (22-23 January 1971). The full reports of these conversations were edited by Paulos Mar Gregorios and Nikos Nissiotis and published by this journal (Vol. 10:2, Winter 1964-65; Vol. 13:2, Fall, 1968; Vol. 16:1 and 2, Spring and Fall, 1971). Selections from the more than 600 pages are reproduced in the Geneva volume, including the texts of the four agreed-upon statements, thus affording the general reader for the first time an easily accessible survey of contemporary efforts to reestablish communications between two different but living traditions of Eastern Christianity.

The words of the World Council of Churches' Nairobi Assembly in 1975 (Section II: What Unity Requires) noted:

The one Church is to be envisioned as a conciliar fellowship of local churches which are themselves truly united. In this conciliar fellowship, each local church possesses, in communion with the others, the fullness of Catholicity, witnesses to the same apostolic faith, and, therefore, recognizes the others as belonging to the same Church of Christ and guided by the same Spirit.

As the New Delhi Assembly pointed out, they are bound together because they have received the same baptism and share in the same Eucharist; they recognize each other's members and ministries. They are one in their common commitment to confess the Gospel of Christ by proclamation and service to the world. To this end, each church aims at maintaining sustained and sustaining relationships with her sister churches, expressed in conciliar gatherings whenever required for the fulfillment of their common calling (p. vii).

These genuine efforts at reconciliation between Oriental and Eastern Orthodox Churches have been building upon very substantial similarities in dogmatic faith, ecclesiology, liturgy, and spirituality because of a common fidelity to the ancient tradition, thought, life, and principles of Church authority and administration. A dialogue has been established for the restoration of full Church communion between the two Churches. Essential to any restoration of relations is agreement on Christology; and, appropriately, much of the dialogue has been directed

to this end. Important is the reaffirmation of Christological agreement:

On the essence of the Christological dogma our two traditions, despite fifteen centuries of separation, still find themselves in full and deep agreement with the universal tradition of the one undivided Church... We both teach that He who is consubstantial with the Father, according to the Godhead, became consubstantial also with us according to humanity in the Incarnation; that He who was before all ages begotten from the Father, was in these last days for us and for our salvation born of the blessed Virgin Mary; and that in Him the two natures are united in the one hypostasis of the Divine Logos without confusion, without change, without division, without separation. Jesus Christ is perfect God and perfect man with all the properties and faculties that belong to the Godhead and to humanity (Geneva, 1970, p. 8).

There still remain differences on the meaning and place of certain synods in the life of the Church, the anathematization or acclamation as saints of certain controversial teachers in the Church, and the jurisdictional questions related to manifestations of the unity of the Church at local, regional, and world levels.

Obviously, in a collection such as the one printed in this volume, only a few of the essays could be included; but the ones that have, do deal with the essential questions and do fairly represent the vital issues as seen by both sides. Since the papers of the various consultations have all been previously published in this journal, I venture to indicate only the ones printed in the Geneva volume: "The Problem of the Unification of the Non-Chalcedonian Churches of the East with the Orthodox on the Basis of Cyril's Formula: *Mia physis tou Theou Logou sesarkomene*" (Ioannes N. Karmires); "St. Cyril's 'One Physis or Hypostasis of God the Logos Incarnate' and Chalcedon" (John S. Romanides); "One Incarnate Nature of God the Word" (Bishop V. C. Samuel); "Christology in the Liturgical Tradition of the Armenian Church (Mesrob K. Krikorian); "The Orthodox Faith in the Liturgies and Prayers of the Coptic Church" (Hakim Amin); "The Christological Dogma and Its Terminology" (Georges Florovsky); "Ecclesiological Issues Concerning the Relation of Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches (Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios); and "Ecclesiological Issues Inherent in the Relations between Eastern Chalcedonia and Oriental Non-Chalcedonian Churches" (John D. Zizioulas). All but the last two essays are also accompanied by discussions.

Certainly from these articles it becomes clear that there has been considerable misunderstanding of crucial terminology used by the two traditions and that such terminology can be fruitfully clarified. There is need, too, for continued discussion of what it was that the Synod of Chalcedon

was really trying to do and say, and how it was understood by the Eastern Orthodox or misunderstood by the Oriental Orthodox. Much discussion of Severos Dioscuros, Pope Leo, and Saint Cyril gives us new insights into understanding the Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian positions. Throughout, the reader should keep in mind Father Florovsky's admonition that "The Christological problem is thus integral to the message of salvation, and should always be considered in that context" (p. 21), but also Professor Zizioulas' observation that there has been a long-standing schism between the two Churches that must be seen in light of ecclesiological differences that affect the *communio sanctorum*, the diptychs, and even the question of jurisdiction. "True unity of the Church requires one common tradition as its basis," insists Professor Zizioulas (p. 154). Certainly both Oriental and Eastern Orthodox have shared basically the same ecclesiology based on the vision of the Church prior to separation, a vision intrinsically related to a sacramental theology, which is especially expressed in the Eucharist.

Does Chalcedon Divide or Unite? reexamines the relation of Chalcedon to Eastern and Oriental Orthodox and indicates that there is good reason to believe that Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian Orthodox can better understand each other and eventually become reconciled.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

Constantinople in the Age of Justinian. By Glanville Downy. The Centers of Civilization Series. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980. Third printing. Pp. ix + 181. Paper.

If you are an expert in a particular field, the most difficult kind of book to write is the general one for the non-specialist. Glanville Downey, distinguished Professor Emeritus of History and Classical Studies at Indiana University, has been one of the most productive scholars in late Classical and Byzantine Studies in America. It was therefore appropriate that in launching the Centers of Civilization series which aimed at producing convenient, authoritative, and brief volumes "devoted to cities which, from the earliest times to the present, have a radiating influence upon the civilizations in which they have existed," Glanville Downey was assigned to do the volume on Constantinople, the third in this admirable and ambitious publishing project of the University of Oklahoma Press. Downey's Constantinople volume was originally published in 1960, reprinted in 1968, and appears now again in paperback in 1980. The account, according to the author, "is intended to show how, at a particular period, the city had been the setting for the development of a new syn-

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summation of agreements as well as differences which remain to be resolved.

The body of the text is very well printed, with a few slipups (e.g. p. 117, line 18, 'Ressurrection' for 'Resurrection'; and p. 159, line 30: 'Homoonsios' for 'homouosios'). However, citations in footnotes and in the Bibliographical Register are less fortunate; here misspellings abound: p. 125, n. 65; p. 217, n. 2; p. 218, n. 6; p. 226, s. v. Evdokimov, fifth entry; p. 350, s. v. Meyendorff. The age of patient and accurate nineteenth century typesetters is a century past, and typographical composition of any book with citations in several languages poses problems. However, no scholar with sufficient background to be able to read this book with understanding will be apt to be misled by these minor but numerous errors and unfortunate flaws in an otherwise good product.

Stephen H. R. Upson
Rochester, New York

For the Health of Body and Soul. By Stanley Harakas. Holy Cross Orthodox Press: Brookline, Mass., 1980. Pp. 48. Paperbound, \$1.95.

Father Stanley Harakas, for many years the dean of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, and professor of Ethics, has written this short study as a "first effort at providing a comprehensive Orthodox ethical teaching on bioethical questions" (p. 17). Actually, it is his contribution to the newly published *Encyclopedia of Bioethics*, plus an introduction he submits to the Church which, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, will have to determine its usefulness.

For this reviewer, the book's usefulness is self-evident and, if nothing else, Harakas deserves our thanks for taking us as far as he does. Anyone who is acquainted with Father Stanley knows from where he begins, i.e., where he is 'rooted'; he is a man of the Church, raised on her tradition and sacraments. But also, he is one who, coming out of this 'mind,' is not afraid to confront those sticky issues that we Orthodox have all too often either 'generalized' away, or simply have denied them to be our problems.

Do not be mistaken, however. This is no comprehensive view and the author reminds us of that. In fact, there is "no comprehensive literature from an Orthodox perspective on the subject" (p. 16). Nevertheless, this reviewer, upon completing the reading, realized that this is a source about which the Orthodox *can agree*. This miracle in itself still allows for the many 'ifs,' 'buts,' and 'sometimes,' which really have more to do with the nature of bioethical dilemmata, and not with a particular Orthodox perspective.

The point here is that the place where we can agree is the best starting

place for one such "comprehensive view." My hope is that someone with the balance of Stanley Harakas — and nothing less — will undertake such a task. I, for one, have by now read Shannon and DiGiacomo (*An Introduction to Bioethics*), James Nelson (*Human Medicine*), Maurice Reidy (*Foundations for a Medical Ethic*), and others, and am thirsty for someone like Harakas to tackle a similar book. Father Harakas' book can surely lead in that direction.

More particularly, the author begins where he should with "synergy," a principle by which "the use of healing, medicines...even surgical procedures have generally been understood throughout history by the Church as appropriate, fitting, and desirable ways of cooperating with God in the healing of human illnesses" (p. 11). So where does the 'rub' come? If the logic of synergy-cooperation is obvious, why the bioethical problem? Simply because developments, some absolutely phenomenal, have taken us to a line, which if and when we cross it, is pregnant with many, many ethical choices. Who decides? *Should* it be done *if* it could be done? Where are the beginnings and the endings? What is sinful and merciful; wrong sickness and 'beneficial' sickness? The one point upon which we *can* all agree is that such questions cannot be answered without reference to values that are forthcoming from 'beyond science.' Harakas again draws the line for us (a line which we always knew was there — and in which technology tells us 'what is true is true,' but now he tells us how to *judge and use* what we know is true)!

In these "first efforts," the author introduces the problems of human experimentation, organ transplantation, addiction, euthanasia, sexuality, artificial insemination, and genetic counseling among others. Each, of course, could be a book itself. What he does is simply to make a statement about these dilemmata on the basis of theological anthropology (e.g., *economia*, *humanum*, *donatum*, *theosis*, etc.) as the law, motive, and intent of that anthropology can be interpreted in Orthodoxy.

As his sources, he uses such people as Antoniadis (*Encheiridion kata Christon ethikes*), Androutsos (*Systema ethikes*), as well as persons like Evdokimov (*Sacrament de l'amour*), and Florovsky (*Bible, Church, Tradition*). Besides such contemporaries, the author constantly refers to the Fathers and the canons of the Church.

Repeating my hope, then, that Father Stanley will move beyond what he calls "the first efforts...at a comprehensive Orthodox ethical teaching on bioethical questions," the reader should be left with the thought which ends and permeates the work. "It is in the community of the living, especially as it relates to the source of life, God in Trinity, that life is conceived, nurtured, developed and fulfilled...Eastern Orthodox ethics, consequently, functions with a pro-life bias that honors and respects the life of each person as a divine gift."

Joseph J. Allen
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

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color. This reviewer, at least, takes the texts as evidence of the profound differences in theory and practice that separate Orthodox and Latin monasticism.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos

Fullnes of Life, Historical Foundations for a New Asceticism. By Margaret R. Miles. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1981. Pp. 186. Paper.

Modern scholars have taken too literally the advice of many early Christian authors: "Pay no attention to the body." At the same time, many have seldom analyzed the voluminous writings of these same or other authors on embodiment. Consequently, a stereotype belief has been formed that all Christian thinkers have urged a repression of bodily pleasure, energies, and needs.

This misunderstanding is due, to a large measure, to a tendency to ignore the extent to which ideas arise in response to their context. Moreover, these ideas are in a sense 'occasional,' and are not to be taken as absolute. In addition, there is a tendency to assume that authors of other times operated with the same central issues and agendas that we do. Also, historic texts are often unable to reconstruct for us the liveliness of historic people who were truly alive.

Margaret Miles has chosen to give a more accurate exposition of an element of Christian thought that is widespread and has deeply influenced Christian life in the past. She studies carefully the main streams of the thought and aspects of some of the greatest Fathers of the Church. In order to understand things better, she consistently explores the exact meaning of terms and the occasion of their use, especially what each particular Father meant by the term 'body': the organic element of the human being, or simply the flesh. In addition, she examines what was the aim of a Father in a particular occasion: to express philosophical views or to preach temperance.

At first Miles explores the views of the body formulated by Irenaeus and Tertullian (who certainly were widely indebted to Justin, Athanasius, and Theophilus) in response to Gnostic dualism. The main feature of their argument is that the worth of the body is shown in Christ's true incarnation and man's resurrection. In the same connection, the evidence of the ancient martyrological literature is used (Chapter 1).

Miles finds in Clement of Alexandria (Chapter 2) a transition from the martyrdom orientation of the Early Church to daily martyrdom, that is, a life in which every circumstance becomes a spiritual discipline. The double view of Origen on the body, i.e., on the one hand his minimizing of the distance between spirit, soul, and body, and on the other, his

teaching that the body is the accurate reflection of the soul's condition and the locus of the soul's education, is explored with care so that both the value and the difficulties of body are shown. Origen's distinction of a triple meaning in the scriptural text (bodily, psychic, and spiritual) might have given some help in the interpretation.

On this point, I wish to make a general observation. All historians of Christian thought persistently characterize the schools of Clement and Origen as the 'catechetical school' of Alexandria. However, if the course of instruction began with the study of geometry, physiology, and astronomy, advanced to the study of philosophy, and culminated in the study of theology, as the author rightly states (p. 37), what kind of 'catechetical' school was it? Obviously, it was a type of institution which combined an undergraduate course of liberal arts with a graduate course of theology, a pattern followed by medieval and modern higher education.

The whole of Chapter 3 is devoted to the views of Augustine on human nature and embodiment. His endeavor was different from that of the other theologians who limited their view of the body to the affirmation of the fully human incarnation of the Word and the insistence on the resurrection of the body. The author shows that Saint Augustine, after an analysis of the human experience, completed the views of the others by describing the body's participation in the suffering, beauty, and pathos of this life, besides its ultimate participation in the resurrection.

The next chapter is equally divided between East and West. The author shows a deep understanding of the Eastern theological thought and ecclesiastical life, rare for Western historians. She distinguishes here, too, the two different views, i.e., the incarnational in which the human body is important as the locus of struggle and of the victory of the resurrection, and the hierarchical in which the body, though less important, shares in the soul's affection and attention as its perfect reflection. An extension of the examination to include Nemesios of Emessa, Maximos the Confessor, and Gregorios Palamas (who is not completely absent) would have given a greater breadth to the study. As an 'Easterner' I would like to say that the title "East and West after Augustine" is not so appropriate; first, because no Eastern theologian of those mentioned by the author had read even a line of Augustine's writings; and second, because some of them were older than Augustine and probably influenced him, like Gregory of Nyssa.

In the thirteenth century, the two founders of the Franciscan order, Francis and Bonaventura, moved in two different directions on the problem: Francis to the view of the incarnation, and Bonaventura to the hierarchical. Thomas Aquinas made the synthesis, as the author describes in Chapter 6.

In Chapter 7, the author presents views of the body of four types of Christian asceticism: the eremitic in the Egyptian desert, the cenobitic

(established by Pachomios in 326), the Augustinian, and the Ignatian.

In the last chapter, the author argues for a new asceticism with new practices which may become valuable tools for contemporary Christianity.

I do not know what the opinion of other readers might be about the presence in the volume of such an abundance of patristic citations covering, perhaps, one third of the book's extent. As for me, I find that their use enlivens their authors and makes this excellent and fascinating book more lively.

Panagiotēs Chrestou
Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies

La vie religieuse à Byzance. By Jean Gouillard. London: Variorum Reprints, 1981. Pp. 364.

This volume of 364 pages includes sixteen studies published in a number of journals over a period of forty years, 1939-1978. They are all products of erudition and serious research. Gouillard has paid particular attention to the religious life in the Byzantine world, to its theological, as well as to its administrative and ceremonial aspects. The author has devoted a great part of his scholarly work to a field which has not attracted the interest of many other scholars—that of heresiology.

Indicative of Gouillard's interest is the article which has been placed at the head of the volume (No. 1); it is a survey of the heretical movements in Byzantium from the fourth to the twelfth century. He suggests that an investigation of all heresies be made, beginning with the publication of unedited anathematisms as its first phase. And, of course, he is quite qualified to initiate the pioneer work on the subject. An example of such a text is the hitherto unknown letter of Patriarch Kosmas I (1075-1081) against the Bogomiles which he shows to be the basis of the anti-Bogomile section of the Bulgarian Synodicon of Tsar Boril (1211). The letter is edited here for the first time (15). The following observations refer to minor defects, mostly printing errors. The word which is rendered by the Bulgarian *otmenjat* is ἀποβάλλεσθαι instead of ἐπιβάλλεσθαι (p. 366). The correct reading of the following words is (p. 366): θεοσεβεῖ for θεοσεβῆ (l. 7), ἀνέμαθον for ἀνέμαθον (17), ὠθοῦν for ὀθοῦν (20), and πάσας for πᾶσας (22).

As many as eight studies are devoted to the controversy on the icons. They vary in character, but usually refer to persons and texts generally of minor importance or unknown. So they are doubly welcome.

In Study 2, the author draws a general picture of the position of ascetics and, especially, of the contemplatives toward the use of icons through the ages. H. G. Beck had insisted in one of his studies that devo-

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ARCHIMANDRITE CHRYSOSTOMOS

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PROBLEMATICS IN THE STUDY OF THE ORIGIN OF LITURGICAL VESTURE

Certainly, at one time or another, every serious ecclesiastical historian has, at least in passing turned his attention toward the historical development of liturgical vesture in the Christian Church. Yet, this field has been largely neglected in terms of protracted scrutiny and study. The few existent studies in the area are mere prolegomena to an objective and extensive treatment. Perhaps the single most important impediment to the study of the origins of liturgical dress is an historiographical one. On all sides, the researcher is beset in the literature by certain assumptions about these origins which predispose the historical investigator to pursue avenues of research which have had two privative effects. On the one hand, research has tended to become preoccupied with historiographical rather than historical questions; on the other hand, the narrowness of the nature of the historiographical disputes has been such as to restrict historical investigation largely to the Western Church and to ignore the historical development of liturgical vesture in the Byzantine Church. The purpose of our present essay is to investigate the historiographical problematics in this area and to make a few suggestions about heuristic directions in research dealing with both Western *and* Eastern liturgical dress.

The study of the historical development of liturgical vestments has traditionally followed two paradigms. R. A. S. Macalister, in his at times prepossessing study of the subject, designates these as the "ritualistic" and "antiquarian" models.¹ The ritualistic approach, which assumes that the vestments of the early Christian Church were modeled after the liturgical garments of the Jewish Levitical priesthood, aspires to link the divine Mosaic institution of Jewish liturgical vesture with a presumably divine element in the development of Christian liturgical garb. It is this historiographical spirit which best corresponds to the traditional approach of Eastern Orthodox writers, to the subject, in that the latter claim divine institution for liturgical wear. The second approach, that of the antiquarian school, holds that Christian liturgical vesture evolved in a natural process from the ordinary dress of the Roman citizenry of the

The author is indebted to Dr. Manfred Fleischer, of the University of California, for helpful criticism in the preparation of this essay.

1 R. A. S. Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments: Their Development and History* (London, 1896), pp. 2-3.

first few centuries of the Christian era. Its assumptions are those of the majority of the few scholars writing, in contemporary times, on the subject.

Before enumerating in greater detail the tenets of each of these schools, we might here take specific note of the insufficiency, in and of itself, of either approach. While the antiquarian view certainly enjoys the greater support of extant historical evidence, as we will subsequently demonstrate, it is probably the more parsimonious and does not account for the many changes which took place in the West during and following the ninth century. Furthermore, the development of vestments is rarely, if ever, differentiated, in this school, according to Eastern and Western usages. There is little evidence, on the other hand, to support the notion that the ritualistic school offers an exact thesis and that the early Christians modeled their liturgical garb directly after that of the Levitical priesthood. Reliable data to support the ritualistic notion are simply absent and one tends to agree with the accurate, albeit immoderate, reaction of Macalister: "The weight of argument which can be brought against it is so great that it is almost universally untenable."²

Indeed, it is a synthesis of these two approaches which is most productive. Taking only the antiquarian paradigm, it is difficult to explain the evidence, however scanty, that early Christians had special liturgical dress in addition to ordinary daily dress (even if this liturgical dress was patterned after the ordinary dress). The ritualistic school confesses to little historical accuracy, yet was assumed in the West in the ninth century as a prototypic source for then contemporary liturgical vestments. The outcome of these complementary foibles is that, while everyday Roman dress apparently set the style for the early Christian sacerdotal, ceremonial garments, the idea of special liturgical vestments was largely after a Jewish prototype, at least in the West.

The ritualistic school finds the source of Christian eucharistic vesture in the ceremonial dress of the Levitical priesthood. It is appropriate, then, to list here those vestments assigned to the Levitical priesthood in the twenty-eighth chapter of the book of Exodus:

And these are the vestments which they shall make for them: a breastplate and an ephod and a robe and an embroidered coat and a mitre and a girdle; and they shall make holy vestments for Aaron your brother and his sons that they may minister to me in the priest's office.

And for Aaron's sons you shall make coats, and you shall make for them girdles, and bonnets you shall make for them, for glory and for beauty.

And you shall make them breeches of fine linen to cover their

2 Ibid.

nakedness.³

The Ephod and the breasplate are without parallels in Christian liturgical vesture, unless one were to accept the far-fetched notion that the ephod, worn around the neck, corresponds to the Western *amice*, worn around the neck under the outer garb. The breeches are clearly explained and have no counterpart in Christian ecclesiastical dress. The tunic, coat, and girdle have, perhaps, parallels in the Christian scheme of dress, but the descriptions rendered by Flavius Josephus in the "Jewish Antiquities" are such that no definite conclusions can be drawn concerning ostensible similarities. Josephus' description of the bonnet, furthermore, leaves no doubt that it was a simple turban, certainly in no manner related to Christian liturgical headgear:

On his head he wears a cap without a peak, not encircling the entire head, though covering more than half of it, which is called the 'mes-naemphthes' (μεσναεμφθής). This covering is designed to look like a crown, consisting of a strip of woven linen tightly bound, for it is wound round and round and sewn frequently.⁴

The remaining case for possible correspondence between Levitical and Christian liturgical vestments is the mitre, described as a "golden crown" by Josephus. We tend to agree with one expert that this description is "quite at variance with the original laws on the subject."⁵

The problems which arise in the ritualistic school are salient. If the Christians truly were modeling their liturgical vestments on those of the Jewish priesthood as early as the first Christian centuries, why is there no extant written evidence of this fact? Furthermore, as Macalister points out:

Apart from these considerations, may we not ask with reason why the early Christians, a poor and persecuted sect, could possibly assume and maintain an elaborate and expensive system of vestments such as the Jewish? And if the assumption had been made after the days of persecution were past, surely some record of the transaction would have been preserved till our own day? [sic] We possess a tolerably full series of the acts and transactions of ecclesiastical courts in all parts of the known world from the earliest times—how is it that all record of such an important proceeding has perished?⁶

But perhaps the most devastating objection to the ritualistic approach is the fact that, while Christians borrowed many of their religious rites and details of worship from the Jews, they borrowed from synagogue worship, not from the antiquated worship of the temple. And, except for the

3 Exodus 28.4, 40, 42.

4 I have translated the text from Josephus, "Jewish Antiquities," in *The Works of Josephus*, ed. H. St. J. Thackeray, 4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p. 391.

5 Macalister, *Vestments*, p. 10.

6 Ibid., p. 12.

talith, worn by the minister as well as by the people, no particular vestments were appointed for worship in the synagogue. Once and for all, this latter argument should impugn even the most articulate defense of the theory that early Christians adopted, in their liturgical dress, the styles of those religious leaders closest to them.

Given the strong case that can be brought against the ritualistic school, it still remains to be explained why the theory persisted, even as late as modern times, and why it was accepted, as we shall see, as a basis for the reform of liturgical dress during the ninth century in the Occident. W. B. Marriott gives a very convincing explanation which bears repeating:

Churchmen who had travelled widely, as then some did, in East as well as West, could hardly fail to notice the remarkable fact, that at Constantinople as at Rome, at Canterbury as at Arles, Vienna or Lyons, one general type of ministering dress was maintained, varying only in certain minor details; and that this dress everywhere presented a most marked contrast to what was in their time the prevailing dress of the laity. And as all knowledge of classical antiquity had for three centuries or more been well-nigh extinct in the church, it was not less natural that they should have sought a solution of the phenomenon thus presented to them in a theory of Levitical origin, which from that time forward was generally accepted.⁷

No doubt the Jewish prototype for the origin of Christian liturgical vestments will remain, at least in spirit, throughout every consideration of the subject. But it must be understood, aside from the light in which Marriott places it, as an approach more appropriate to the tradition of Christian conservatives than research scholars.

The antiquarian school finds the origin of Christian liturgical dress in the ordinary garb of the Roman citizens of the first Christian centuries. Authorities differ, however, concerning the centuries during which Christian liturgical vesture began using as its model that same ordinary dress. Macalister presumes that it was modeled on Roman dress of the first or second centuries.⁸ Fortescue extends the period by two centuries.⁹ A third authority contends that "all our liturgical vesture is modeled on that of polite Roman society in the last days of the Empire, that is, of the fourth and fifth centuries."¹⁰ The solution to this problem is a difficult one, since sources indicating style changes in the first few Christian centuries are not easy to find. True it is that Saint Jerome and Saint John Chrysostom decry the worldly dress of some followers, for their capitula-

⁷ W. B. Marriott, *Vestiarum Christianum: The Origin and Gradual Development of the Dress of the Holy Ministry in the Church* (London, 1968), p. 78.

⁸ Macalister, *Vestments*, p. 3.

⁹ A. Fortescue, *The Eastern Orthodox Church* (New York, 1967), p. 405.

¹⁰ R. Lesage, *Vestments and Church Furniture* (New York, 1963), p. 106.

tion to modern styles. However, the admonitions expressed by both are not really so much concerned with new dress styles as with the scanty cut of otherwise traditional items of clothing.¹¹ One can simply conclude that liturgical dress must have ceased developing according to contemporary modes, at the time when it was set aside as a special vesture. It is thus that we confront the question of the separate stature of liturgical dress. Did the early Christians have a special dress appropriate to worship, which was different from ordinary garb? The answer to this question will illuminate our inquiry into the issue of which centuries provided the prototype for the liturgical wear of the Christian Church.

From the first through the fourth centuries, one source asserts, there is little substantial evidence that Christians used anything except their everyday dress for liturgical worship.¹² Nonetheless, the reports to the contrary are numerous enough to bear mentioning, and convincing enough for this period to be called a debated one, in which the idea of separate liturgical garb must have developed at least enough to account for the definite evidence in the fifth century that such separate apparel did, indeed, exist. A passage from Saint Jerome's homily on the book of Ezekiel seems to indicate two separate forms of vestments and is used repeatedly by scholars to prove that there were distinct liturgical vestments in the Christian Church before the fifth century: "Porro religio divina alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitæque communi."¹³ The weight of this piece of evidence is great.

The third-century Liturgy of Saint Clement of Alexandria provides another example of separate vestments in use in the early Christian Church. A rubric enjoins the priest to be "girded in his white vestment."¹⁴ The Greek "λαμπράν ἑσθῆτα μετενδύς" suggests to Marriott and Macalister simply the use of "white" vestments, Macalister claiming that white was, therefore, the color used in primitive Christian worship.¹⁵ Supportive of this assumption are the words of Saint Jerome to the effect that ordinary dress should not be worn in divine services, but he makes no comments here about a liturgical vesture of special cut or fabric.¹⁶ However, in his letter to the Pelagian heretics, Saint Jerome seems to suggest that clothes used in worship were not only of a special color, but of special cut and fabric:

Adjungis gloriam vestium et ornamentorum Deo esse contrariam.

11 See an excellent presentation of this matter in J. G. Davies, *The Early Christian Church* (New York, 1965), p. 278.

12 Macalister, *Vestments*, p. 21.

13 *PL*, 25:437.

14 Macalister, *Vestments*, p. 15.

15 I.e., during the first four Christian centuries.

16 *PL*, 25:436.

Quae sunt rogo inimicitiae contra Deum si tunicam habuero mundiorem? se episcopus, presbyter et diaconus et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus in administratione sacrificiorum candida veste processerint.¹⁷

Saint Jerome's defense of the beauty and ornament of liturgical vesture certainly seems to provide an insight into the subject which is difficult to dismiss.

Such, then, are the sources which evidence the use of a special vesture by the clergy of the first Christian centuries. Too incautious an observer might consider them quite conclusive and imagine the early Christians to have set aside white garments for liturgical use. An image such as this, unfortunately, is not unequivocally justified by the weight of available evidence. In all of the passages cited, there is no clear indication that the garments in question were precisely sacerdotal. Saint Jerome's letter against the Pelagians asks a very hypothetical question, perhaps referring to a custom which was novel and very seldom practiced. Ultimately, one cannot simply state, from the scholarly standpoint, that the references in question are absolute evidence of a special liturgical vesture in the primitive Church, since the references might just as easily be interpreted as admonitions "to all worshippers . . . to wear their Sunday clothes."¹⁸ The passages stand as moot indications, not proof. It is probably true that, at the very least, the idea of a special liturgical dress was germinating in the first four hundred Christian years and that, if there was a special dress, it was modeled after ordinary dress. A careful observer must not go beyond this.

Whatever the course of thought in the first four hundred years of Christian history, by the fifth century, special vestments appropriate to the clergy were apparent in liturgical worship. This age of increasing evidence for the use of ritual garments might well be called a transitional one, wherein most of the counterparts of liturgical vestments in their final forms, both Eastern and Western, are found. The first evidence apropos of the ritualistic use of vestments is the forty-first canon of the Synod of Carthage, *ca.* 400. Directions are clearly given to the deacon that he should wear the alb only "tempore oblationis tantum vel lectionis."¹⁹ Unfortunately, little more is known of circumstances in the fifth century (although this reference leaves no doubt that the ritualistic use of vestments was a fact of Christian worship in that century). The sixth century, however, is replete with references to the ritualistic significance of clerical dress.

The second Synod of Braga (563) clearly indicates that, by the sixth century, vestments used in worship distinguished the ecclesiastical status

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 23:524.

¹⁸ Macalister, *Vestments*, p. 19.

¹⁹ Labbe, *Sacrosancta Concilia ad Regiam Editionem Exacta* (Paris, 1863), 2, col. 1203.

of the celebrant:

Item placuit ut quia in aliquantis huius provinciae ecclesiis diacones [sic] absconsis infra tunicam utantur orariis ita ut nihil differre a subdiacono videantur de cetero superposito scapulae utantur orario.²⁰

The first Synod of Narbonne decreed that "nec diaconus aut subdiaconus certe vel lector antequam missa consummetur alba se praesumat exuere."²¹ This latter decree leaves little doubt that separate vestments were used in the worship service. A seventh-century rubric book, *Ordo Romanus I*, gives an excellent account of ceremonials in Rome, clearly stating that the Roman bishop was to arrive at the basilica, there to be vested with his liturgical attire.²² By far the most protracted commentary from the period of transition, however, comes out of the fourth Synod of Toledo (633), presided over by Saint Isidore of Seville. The concern of the twenty-eighth canon of that Synod is the reinstatement of a clergy falsely removed from office. In setting the rules of reinstatement, the canon makes valuable comment regarding the use of liturgical vestments by the clergy. The canon dictates that the cleric cannot be returned to office except before a bishop at the altar, where he must receive the insignia of his office:

. . . [si episcopus] orarium, annulum, et baculum; si presbyter orarium et planeta; so diaconus orarium et albam; si subdiaconus patenam et calicem; sic et reliqui gradus ea in reparationem sui recipiant quae cum ordinarentur perceperunt.²³

What has thus far been established is that, in the age of transition, clerical dress served a certain ritualistic purpose. Nothing, on the other hand, can be found to prove that a certain *kind* of dress (in terms of distinctive cut) was used during this period. One can only infer such. Furthermore, a drawing of Saint Gregory the Great (bishop of Rome from 590-604) with his mother and father (the authenticity of which is argued by Marriott²⁴) suggests that no special type of dress did exist. Save for the book of the Gospels and the papal *pallium*, there is nothing to distinguish the Bishop from his aristocratic parents.²⁵ There is, of course, no incontrovertible evidence that Saint Gregory is vested in garments appropriate to liturgical service. The fact that his *pallium* is decorated with crosses and that he holds a book of Gospels would seem to suggest so,

20 Ibid., 5 col. 841.

21 Ibid., col. 1030.

22 See this account and reference in Josef Andreas, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, 1 (New York, 1951-1955), pp. 66-74.

23 Cf. Macalister, *Vestments*, pp. 27-28.

24 Marriott, *Vestiarum*, p. 48.

25 See this illustration in W. M. Webb, *The Heritage of Dress* (London, 1912), p. 140.

but this is mere speculation. Our question, then, concerns the date of and reasons for the adoption of distinct and separate liturgical garb, clearly different from ordinary dress. For an answer to this query, we must turn to the development of liturgical vestments in their final forms and to a separate treatment of that development in the East and West.

The perhaps suprising honor thrust upon a rather provincial and insignificant barbarian of the West—Charlemagne—on that fateful Christmas day in 800 marked the beginning of the so-called Carolingian Renaissance, when interest was created anew in the antiquities of the Empire (then dead in the declining West). By the time of this renaissance, liturgical vestments in the West were no longer in keeping with the styles of ordinary dress, and it was quite natural that some scholarly inquiry was directed toward understanding the origin of those vestments. Initial study tended to link the sacerdotal attire with that of the Levitical priesthood, but conceded that early Christians must have said the liturgy in clothes similar to everyday garb. In the twenty-fourth chapter of “*De Rebus Ecclesiasticis*,” Walfrid Strabo (ca. 840) writes that the number of Christian vestments corresponded to that of the Jewish Levitical vestments, but that

Vestes etiam sacerdotales per incrementa ad eum qui nunc habetur auctae sunt ornatum. Nam primis temporibus communi indumento vestiti missas agebant, sicut et hacetenus quidam Orientalium facere perhibentur.²⁶

Later study, however, essayed to make an unequivocal equation between Christian and Jewish liturgical vesture. Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mainz, was the first Christian writer to propose this thesis in an extended manner. In his “*De Institutione Clericorum*,” written about 850, he contends that the liturgical vestments in use at his time were modelled after those of the Mosaic prescriptions and assumes that Christians had intentionally mimicked the Jewish usage in the primitive Church.²⁷

The desire to assume a Jewish prototype for Christian liturgical vestments grew widespread as a result of the speculations formulated during the initial period of the Carolingian Renaissance. Attempts to make the Christian garments correspond to those of the Levitical priests account for an increase in the number of Christian vestments between the ninth and twelfth centuries. In the ninth century Rabanus Maurus catalogued the vestments of the Church as the alb, girdle, sandals, and *pallium*. In the early twelfth century, Ivo of Chartres adds the stockings to the list. Then, around 1130, Honorius of Autun adds the *subcingulum*, rational,

²⁶ *PL*, 114: 952.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 107: 306.

mitre, gloves ring, and staff.²⁸ (The rational, now extinct in the West, was assumed as a direct imitation, by Latin bishops of the early Middle Ages, of the ephod mentioned in Exodus.) While headdress did exist in the transitional period, the twelfth-century innovation of the bishop's mitre was undoubtedly an adaptation of the Jewish prototype. The ring and staff, mentioned by the Synod of Toledo, were brought, in this later time, to the status of vestments. They are absent from the list offered by Rabanus Maurus.

We can conclude that, in the West, the Jewish prototype served to transform what had heretofore been dress styled after everyday wear, outdated by changes over the years, into separate and sacred vestments. Undoubtedly the seed of this conception was already planted in the transitional period, when the differentiation of clerical rank by dress was growing; but it was not until the ninth century that any standardization took place, and then according to the Jewish prototype. The many innovations and changes in liturgical dress which followed in the Middle Ages were purposely made to conform Christian vestments to their Old Testament counterparts.

What, then, was the particular case in the East? First, liturgical dress was reserved much earlier as significant of ecclesiastical rank. No doubt, as Duchesne²⁹ points out, the Byzantine church-state hegemony makes it more likely that the Eastern Church followed the fourth-century imperial dictum that all officials wear a sign of office. (Under Justinian, of course, Eastern clergymen were just that: officials of imperial rank.) This being the case, one can easily account for the threefold development of the stole in the Eastern Church, which development has no counterpart in the West: the *omophorion* of the bishop; the *epitrachelion* of the priest; and the *orarion* of the deacon. While this view is repudiated by Macalister,³⁰ it is one which commends itself to the best reconstruction of the historical facts. An early development is evidenced by the striking complexity of Eastern vesture already enumerated by Patriarch Germanos of Constantinople in the early eighth century. Since there is no extant evidence to prove that an adoption of the Jewish prototype, such as took place in the West in the ninth century, occurred in the East, one is forced to assume that the development of liturgical vesture in the East was part of a very long and natural historical process. It was probably more influenced in this development by the demands of insignia of imperial office than by the kind of artificial imitation provoked by the abrupt changes which took place during the Carolingian Renaissance in the Latin West.

28 See Macalister, *Vestments*, p. 64. His dating is questionable, if only because it is speculative.

29 L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origins and Evolution*, trans. M. L. McClure (London, 1903), p. 394.

30 Macalister, *Vestments*, p. 50.

One incidental historiographical observation should be made in summary. Having considered the development of liturgical vesture more or less through its final form (i.e., through the prototypical forms on which modern vesture is based), we must consider the problem of the resistance to change, at least in the West, that characterizes liturgical vesture up to the time of its standardization. In the East, where this standardization corresponded to the standardization of worship (one must be struck by the fact that Byzantine liturgical worship went through a period, not of development, but of *standardization* as early as the fourth century—something unparalleled in the West until the ninth century), one can see some sense in this persistence. Moreover, if liturgical vesture in the Byzantine Church was influenced by bureaucratic codes and imperial style, there is further reason for standardization and resistance to change. Just as judicial and official dress tends to remain fixed, resisting stylistic changes in general, so Byzantine Church dress must have resisted change.

In the West, resistance to change is very difficult to explain. Since the imperial prototype does not seem to have been an important element in determining Western ecclesiastical dress, a social resistance to change in this realm seems unlikely. (While it is not our intention to investigate the matter here, an interesting area of research yet untouched is the possibility that the development of ecclesiastical vesture in the Carolingian West influenced a simultaneous development of the imperial dress necessitated by the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire.) In the last analysis, there being no reason to doubt that Western Christianity, like most religious movements, espoused a manner and style of dress that was conservative and modest, one might best, by simple conservatism, account for the persistence of classical vesture well into the medieval Western Church.

Our few, foregoing comments should serve to demonstrate that neither the antiquarian nor the ritualistic school is an adequate historiographical scheme for understanding the historical development of Christian liturgical dress. Each school confesses limitations in dealing with that development in the West, where to some extent both models are appropriated. And as regards the Christian East, either model will lead the casual observer, if not the careful scholar, to an overview which is simply inadequate to encompass the unique and complex historical forces of the Byzantine Empire.

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REVIEWS

Ὁδοὶ καὶ τρόποι πρὸς τὴν ἀγιότητα [The Ways and Means of Sanctity].
By Constantine Cavarnos. Athens: Orthodox Press Editions, 1980. Pp.
64. Illustrated. Paper.

This book was originally presented as a lecture entitled "The Ways of Sanctity" on 3 October 1978, at the Orthodox Theological Seminary of Saint Tikhon of Zadonsk in South Canaan, Pennsylvania, as part of a series on "Called To Be Saints." It was published in English in May, 1979, in the Seminary's yearbook, *Tikhonaire* (pp. 23-29). The Greek version was published in book form by the spiritual daughters of the late nun, Euphrosyne, a contributor to the Orthodox Press in Athens, and is a fitting memorial to this dedicated woman ascetic. The Greek translation appeared in serial form from the 31st of August to the 5th of October in 1979. It has been enlarged by the addition of a prologue, epilogue, improvements in the main text, tables of proper names and subjects, a table of contents, listings of the publications of The Orthodox Press (including those of Dr. Cavarnos himself), and numerous hagiographical illustrations.

The Ways and Means of Sanctity is a compact, extremely well documented, and well written handbook on sainthood: how to recognize it, and how to achieve it! In addition to the introduction and epilogue, the two main parts of this fine book are devoted to "Ways to Sanctity" and "Means for Sanctity."

Dr. Cavarnos traces the idea of the saint back to the Old and New Testaments with special emphasis on Leviticus 11.44, "Ye shall be sanctified and ye shall be holy, because I, the Lord your God, am holy"; (also, Leviticus 19.2 and 20.7) and Matthew 5.48, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect" ("perfect" = "holy"). In the Orthodox tradition "a saint is a person who has become a partaker of divine grace and is inspired and guided by the Holy Spirit. Such a person is free from every vice and a possessor of all the virtues" (p. 10). In Dr. Cavarnos' words, "The partaking of the grace of the Holy Spirit, union with the divine energies, sanctification, is called *theosis*, 'deification' or 'divinization.' He who attains *theosis* becomes united with God, and, thereby, participates in God's perfection and blessedness" (p. 11). This is the goal of all humanity, not simply of the Orthodox saint. The saint is described in patristic writings as possessing faith, patience, humility and spiritual love. Dr. Cavarnos analyzes each one of these virtues with particular reference to the Church Fathers.

Throughout his study Dr. Cavarnos utilizes patristic sources, including

the five (Saint Peter Damascene) or six (Saint Nikodemos the Hagiorite) categories of kinds of saints such as apostles, martyrs, prophets, hierarchs, and ascetic saints (*hosioi*), plus the righteous (*dikaioi*). Though the categories, teacher and confessor, are possible, they are generally subsumed under one of the six categories listed. Each of the categories represents a way of becoming a saint. *Askesis*—spiritual endeavor or training—is necessary. *Askesis* involves bodily and mental practices. Dr. Cavarnos discusses fasting, vigils, standing, prostration, and silence in connection with bodily practices; and repentance, concentration, meditation, inner attention, and prayer in connection with mental practices. Using the Greek Church Fathers to support his assertions, Professor Cavarnos points out that man cannot attain perfect purity without the help of divine grace. It is through divine grace that a radical purification of the inner man is effected. Dr. Cavarnos quotes Saint Seraphim of Sarov to stress the particular role of prayer:

Of course, every good work done for the sake of Christ gives us the grace of the Holy Spirit, but prayer provides it most of all, for prayer is, as it were, always at hand as an instrument for the acquisition of the grace of the Spirit... and its practice is available to everyone" (p. 44-45).

It is prayer that unites man with God. Dr. Cavarnos concludes with an eloquent quotation from Nikodemos the Hagiorite:

From union with God is born the discrimination of truth from falsehood; the perception of the hidden mysteries of nature; foresight and foreknowledge of things; Divine effulgence; illumination of the heart; the amazing and ecstatic love of God by all the powers of the soul; being caught up to the Lord; the revelation of the insoluble mysteries of God. In a word, from this union is born the *theosis* of man, which is longed for by all... and is the final end and purpose, God's foremost and highest goal (p. 45).

The Ways and Means of Sanctity, though brief and compact, is a rich source for identifying the essence of Orthodox Christian teaching.

John E. Rexine
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Bread for Life: Reading the Bible. By Theodore Stylianopoulos. Brookline, Massachusetts: Department of Religious Education, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1980. Pp. ix + 94. Paper, \$3.25.

Orthodoxy: Faith and Life. Volume One: *Christ in the Gospels.* By Bishop Gerasimos Papadopoulos. Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1980. Pp. 164. Hardcover, \$9.50; Paper, \$4.95.

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EVA CATAFYGIOTU TOPPING

KASSIANE THE NUN AND THE SINFUL WOMAN

Two women, famous for different reasons, will be discussed here.¹ Kassiane the Nun enjoys high honor in the history of Byzantine hymnography,² while the Sinful woman, whom the Evangelist Luke introduced into Christian literature, is associated with shame. The Sinful Woman is the subject of the Byzantine nun's most celebrated hymn, and, as a result, the bad name or notoriety of the subject has rubbed off on the hymnographer. An old tradition, unfortunately still widely accepted today, identifies Kassiane the Nun as a fallen woman. Sexist prejudice is the likely source of this unfounded identification. It is my intent here to clarify and to end this misunderstanding.

Kassiane the Nun is Byzantium's most famous woman hymnographer. Her literary fame rests on her sticheron or troparion, formally known by its first line: Κύριε, ἡ ἐν πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις (Lord, she who had fallen in many sins). In the manuscripts medieval scribes entitled it: *Εἰς τὴν Πόρνην* (*To the Harlot*). To many generations of Greek Orthodox it is familiarly known as *Τὸ Τροπάριον τῆς Κασσιανῆς* (*The Troparion of Kassiane*). Admired, popular and beloved, this hymn is universally acknowledged to be a masterpiece of religious poetry.³ Published in many anthologies of Greek verse, it was rendered into demotic Greek by Kostis Palamas (1859-1943) and later set to music by Dimitri Mitropoulos.

Originally composed for the Orthros of Holy Wednesday, Kassiane's troparion is now sung on the evening of Holy Tuesday.⁴ The text is included in the Triodion, the service book for the ten weeks preceding Easter. Sacred poets from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries contributed hundreds of Lenten hymns to this book. These include numerous monks, and bishops, two emperors of Byzantium, and a single woman, Kassiane. Twenty-nine of these hymnographers are pictured in the frontispiece of a

1 With slight modifications this paper was given at Hellenic College on 12 November 1980.

2 Of the several variants of her name I have chosen Kassiane, the one most widely used by Greek Orthodox.

3 The text with a translation may be found in E. Wellesz. *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1961), pp. 353-54; C.A. Trypanis, *The Penguin Book of Greek Verse* (1971), p. 435.

4 This service has been translated by Mother Mary and Archimandrite K. Ware, *The Lenten Triodion* (London and Boston, 1978), pp. 535-41.

Triodion printed in Venice in 1601.⁵

Kassiane the Nun was, in every respect, a worthy daughter of Byzantium. Born in the imperial city sometime before 805, she belonged to an aristocratic family. Her father held the high rank of *candidatus* at the imperial court. Kassiane was well educated. She received instruction in both sacred and profane learning, studying not only Scripture but also classical Greek authors. Saint Theodore the Studite, the erudite abbot and champion of Orthodoxy, praised Kassiane's learning and literary style as exceptional.

Saint Theodore also praised Kassiane's character and piety. When still a young woman, she defied imperial edicts forbidding the veneration of icons. She endured persecution, and for her defiance was beaten with the lash. Undaunted, however, the devout young woman continued openly to resist the emperor's policies by visiting imprisoned Orthodox monks, comforting Orthodox exiles and by writing letters and sending gifts to them. This crisis of the Church tested and proved Kassiane's faith and zeal.

Kassiane's loyalty to Orthodoxy was not uncommon, for she belonged to a large company of women who defended the traditions and teachings of the Church during a turbulent period of religious crisis which lasted nearly a century and a half (729-843). At that time laywomen and nuns emerged from the safe seclusion of the home and convent to risk their lives in defense of Orthodoxy. In Constantinople within the shadow of the imperial palace they participated in demonstrations against iconoclastic edicts. Some of them were not only persecuted, but were also martyred for their Orthodox faith. One of the first martyrs of iconoclasm was a nun named Theodosia who led a group of nuns in an attempt to prevent the desecration of an icon of Christ at the Chalke Gate in 729. Theodosia knocked down the ladder and caused the death of the soldier trying to remove the icon. Martyred for her resistance, Theodosia soon became the center of a popular cult in Constantinople.⁶ Her heroic example provided Orthodox women with a model for activism.

Nor had Saint Theodosia of Constantinople died in vain. Modern historians credit the triumph of Orthodoxy to an alliance of monks and women.⁷ These women of iconophile sympathies came from all sections of Byzantine society. Two imperial Orthodox women played decisive roles in the struggle against iconoclasm.⁸ Proudly claiming the title of

5 Reproduced in *Acta Sanctorum, Iunii II* (Paris and Rome, 1867), p. xx.

6 Commemorated on May 29, her life was written by Constantine Acropolites, *PG* 140:893-935.

7 C. Mango, "Historical Introduction" in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), p.4.

8 For the careers of Eirene and Theodora see C. Diehl, *Byzantine Empresses* (London, 1964), pp. 65-113.

Basileus, Athenian-born Eirene (797-802) reestablished Orthodoxy in 787. Five decades later, in 843, another empress, "the Blessed Theodora," engineered the final victory, which is annually commemorated on the Sunday of Orthodoxy.⁹ In addition to the imperial women, countless other women of Byzantium proved themselves loyal to the faith of their mothers and father.

Early in life the learned and devout Kassiane had resolved to become a nun. Her religious vocation, however, could not be fulfilled until after 843. At that time she built a convent in the western part of the Queen City, near the old Constantinian walls, and was tonsured a nun. Until her death sometime in the second half of the ninth century, Kassiane lived in the cloister bearing her name.

The foundress of the cloister was its strict and energetic abbess. Within the walled peace of the convent Kassiane supervised the nuns and composed sacred and secular poetry. Her writings have survived in a number of manuscripts dating from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries.

The secular writings project Kassiane's forceful personality. A series of statements, all beginning with *μισῶ* (I hate), reflects her strong dislikes and convictions.¹⁰ Mindful that "God is no respecter of persons" (Acts 10.34), Kassiane opposed discrimination: "I hate the judge who respects persons." Pretense aroused her scorn: "I hate the fool who acts the philosopher." She had contempt for all sham: "I hate the rich man who laments his poverty." Above all, Kassiane condemned lack of commitment and courage: "I hate silence when it is time to speak."

Kassiane's sacred poetry bears the stamp of the true poet and believer. She not only wrote hymns, but also composed musical settings for them. A gifted composer, Kassiane earned the title "Melodos." The nuns in her own convent were the first to sing Kassiane's hymns. These included longer compositions known as *kanons*, as well as the shorter *troparia*.

Twenty-three of Kassiane's hymns for various holy festivals and saints days have been admitted into the liturgical books of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Besides the famous troparion for Holy Wednesday, these include a *kanon* for the dead; hymns for Holy Saturday, Christmas, Hypapante, the Synaxis and Nativity of Saint John Pro-dromos; and hymns in honor of the martyrs, Eustratios and Auxentios and the apostles, Peter and Paul. Thirty-seven other hymns in the service books are attributed to Kassiane the Nun, a few of which may be genuine.¹¹

Through these hymns Kassiane gained unique honor and distinction. She is the only woman represented in the vast corpus of hymns sung by

9 The feast days of Eirene and Theodora fall on August 9 and February 11.

10 See K. Krumbacher, *Kassia* (München, 1897), pp. 363-64.

11 All the hymns are listed and discussed by I. Rochow, *Studien zu der Person, den Werken und dem Nachleben der Dichterin Kassia* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 35-58.

the Orthodox Church. The hymns of other known Byzantine women hymnographers have been excluded from Orthodoxy's multi-volume treasury of liturgical poetry. Overshadowed by the fame and glory of Kassiane, they remain neglected names in catalogues of Byzantine hymnographers: Thekla and Theodosia, two hymn-writing contemporaries of Kassiane; and Palaiologina, an imperial princess of the fifteenth century who wrote hymns in honor of Saint Demetrios.¹²

Despite the fact that her hymns are sung by the Church, Kassiane, unlike many other hymnographers, has not been canonized. The author of a masterpiece of liturgical poetry has been denied the saint's halo which encircles the heads of many Byzantine hymnographers, among them, Romanos the Melodos, Andrew of Crete, Kosmas of Maiouma, John Damascene, and lesser, uninspired hymnodists.

The hymn-writing nun does, however, possess a legend which, in addition to the anti-feminine bias of the Church, accounts for the Church's failure to canonize Kassiane. Within a century after her death, the legend of Kassiane began to circulate. Already in the tenth century, Byzantine chroniclers were narrating the romantic story of the beautiful, learned hymnographer who almost became the empress of Byzantium. Transmitted by pen and word of mouth, this Byzantine legend of Kassiane was inherited by Balkan and Modern Greek folklore and literature.

The earliest extant account of this legend was written by Symeon the Logothete.¹³ Wishing to enable her step-son, Theophilos, to find a suitable wife, the Empress Euphrosyne arranged a bride show.

She assembled maidens of incomparable beauty. Among them was Kassia, an extraordinarily beautiful maiden. There was also another named Theodora. Giving Theophilos a golden apple, Euphrosyne told him to give it to the maiden who pleased him most. Overwhelmed by Kassia's beauty, Emperor Theophilos said: 'From woman come evils.' She replied, though with modesty: 'But from woman spring many blessings.' Wounded to the heart by these words, Theophilos passed her by and gave the golden apple to Theodora, who came from Paphlagonia.

Theodora was crowned empress and then married to Theophilos in the palatine chapel of Saint Stephen. "As for Kassia," the chronicler concludes, "having lost out on an earthly kingdom, she built a convent, was shorn a nun, and until her death, led a philosophical life pleasing to God."

Kassiane's spirited defense of women cost her an imperial husband and the throne of Byzantium. Nevertheless, right was on her side. Theology

12 See my article "Thekla the Nun: In Praise of Woman" in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25 (1980) 353-70.

13 PG 109:685 C-D. The translation is my own.

and recent history justified Kassiane's reply to Theophilos' slur on women. The Theotokos had compensated for Eve's disobedience. The Mother of God had reopened Eden closed by Eve's transgression. Furthermore, the activist Kassiane had not forgotten the significant role of women in the defense of Orthodoxy. For Kassiane to have remained silent would have been to bring discredit to herself and to her sex.

Long before the time of Kassiane, the Sinful Woman had become a familiar, almost proverbial, figure in Eastern Christendom. Although an old tradition identified her with Mary Magdalene, she had no name. The story of the anonymous woman is told only in the Gospel of Saint Luke the Evangelist who, like Christ, was "the friend of sinners" (Lk 7.34), always sympathizing with women, the lost and least.¹⁴

Luke 7.36-50 relates the story of the Sinful Woman who anointed Christ at the beginning of His public ministry. A Pharisee named Simon invited Him to a meal. "When he arrived at the Pharisee's house and took his place at the table, a woman who had a bad name in the town came in. She had heard that he was dining with the Pharisee and had brought with her an alabaster jar of ointment. She waited behind him at his feet, weeping, and her tears fell on his feet, and she wiped them away with her hair; then she covered his feet with kisses and anointed them with the ointment" (Lk 7.36-38).¹⁵

Shocked by the woman's intrusion, Simon wondered if his guest was indeed a prophet. Would a true prophet allow a sinful woman to touch him? But Christ reprimanded Simon, and He forgave the penitent woman her many sins, saying to her, "Your faith has saved you; go in peace" (Lk 7.50).

With this Lukan story began the Sinful Woman's long career in Christian literature. Although Christ had promised a *mnemosynon* (Mt 26.13, Mk 14.9) to the good woman who anointed Him in Bethany just before the Crucifixion, the "memorial" fell instead to the bad woman, the *hamartolos*, "sinner" (Lk 7.37, 39) of the third Gospel.

Together with the Publican and the Prodigal Son the Sinful Woman became a principal *paradeigma* or "example" of Lenten *metanoia* or "repentance." Her story was elaborated by theologians, preachers and hymnographers, and repeated in the prose and poetry of countless sermons and hymns. Most of these, including Kassiane's hymn, were entitled: *Εἰς τὴν Πόρνην*, for it had early been decided that the woman whom Luke had simply designated as ἁμαρτωλός was a harlot. Consequently, the harsh condemnatory word, πόρνη, appears prominently in Lenten sermons and hymns. Kassiane's hymn is a conspicuous exception. In the fourth century Saint Ephraim Syros preached a colorful sermon

14 For the prominence of women in the third Gospel, see C.F. Parvey, "The Theology and Leadership of Women in the New Testament," in *Religion and Sexism*, ed. R. R. Ruether (New York, 1974), pp. 138-42.

15 Translation from *The Jerusalem Bible*.

on the penitent harlot.¹⁶ Two centuries later Saint Romanos the Melodos wrote a long hymn on the same interesting theme.¹⁷

In the course of centuries the repertory increased without interruption. The Orthros of Holy Wednesday includes a number of representative hymns on the subject of the Sinful Woman or harlot. Besides Kassiane's troparion it includes a triodion by Saint Kosmas of Maiouma (seventh century), a kontakion and oikos, four stichera, several kathismata, and four aposticha. None of these possesses either the originality or the power of Kassiane's hymn. In none is the Lenten drama of *metanoia* more strikingly portrayed than in this hymn written by one woman about another.

Tradition and medieval manuscripts both attribute the troparion, Κύριε, ἡ ἐν πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις to Kassiane, the Constantinopolitan, hymn-writing nun of the ninth century. It bears the imprint of her poetic talent and profound religious faith. This troparion possesses both beauty and richness of meaning. One scholar/critic appreciated "The way in which dramatic and narrative elements are blended, and the final prayer, wherein the need of one sinner is absorbed into the cry of a whole suffering world...."¹⁸

The language of the troparion is a mosaic composed of words, phrases, and echoes from the Scriptures, especially the Psalter. Imagery minted by Kassiane unfolds the psychological inner world of the Sinful Woman at a moment of crisis. The hymn is concentrated, intense and brief, consisting of a little more than one hundred words. Yet the Byzantine nun-hymnographer portrays in it universal human emotions, the fundamental Christian drama of sin and salvation.

The structure and style of Kassiane's troparion are influenced by the seven Penitential Psalms (6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142), three of which (37, 50, 142) are chanted during the Orthros of Holy Wednesday. Like these psalms, the troparion is addressed to God, praises His mercy and contains confession and prayer. Kassiane, however, was no mere imitator of the Psalmist. Her troparion is more complex in structure, more subtle in its psychology and more dynamic in movement. Hers is a new song, a distinctly Byzantine Lenten psalm, inspired by the prose of Saint Luke.

Kassiane's celebrated troparion consists of a single strophe in which two different voices are heard. First, the sacred poet herself speaks in a brief introduction. Then in the longer dramatic portion we hear the voice of the Sinful Woman disclosing the pathos of her life, the change from

16 Translated in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, 13, Pt. 2 (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1956), pp. 336-41.

17 Probably the earliest hymn on the subject. See the text in P. Maas and C. A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica: Cantica Genuina* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 73-80.

18 H. J. W. Tillyard, "A Musical Study of the Hymns of Cassia," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 20 (1911): 433.

hamartia (sin) to *soteria* (salvation).

Following the pattern of Psalms, this Byzantine psalm begins by invoking God with a single word, *Kyrie*. Addressing the Lord, the sacred poet presents her hymn to Him. At the same time she summarizes the story first told by St. Luke, all the while subtly refining and deepening it.

With a long dignified phrase Kassiane the Nun introduces her subject: ἡ ἐν πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις περιπεσοῦσα γυνή (the woman who had fallen into many sins). More delicate and less cruel than the hymnographers who insisted on calling the sinner a πόρνη, Kassiane, nevertheless, vividly describes the woman's utter degradation.

A second phrase, τὴν σὴν αἰσθομένη θεότητα (recognizing Your divinity), further describes an important facet of the sinner's personality. The Sinful Woman is unusually perceptive and intuitive. In contrast to Simon who doubted that Jesus was a true prophet, the woman had perceived God in His person. Burdened though she was by her multiple sins, the social outcast alone had recognized God and responded to His presence in Simon's house.

A third phrase advances and refines still further Kassiane's version of the traditional story of the Sinful Woman. By means of three words, μυροφόρου ἀναλαβοῦσα τάξιν, the nun elevates the sinner to sanctity. By perceiving God and honoring Him, the Sinful Woman joined the holy ranks of myrrh-bearers, Christ's faithful women followers, who carried spices to anoint His body in the tomb and were the first to learn that He had risen from the dead.¹⁹ Thus, in Kassiane's interpretation of Saint Luke's story, the Sinful Woman becomes a saint and the first *myrrhophoros*. With her feminine insights and sympathies the Byzantine nun-hymnographer enriches an old familiar story. Thanks to Kassiane the Nun it acquires new dimensions of spiritual significance.

After this brief yet suggestive introduction, the second voice enters the troparion. From the lips of the Sinful Woman herself we hear her confession and prayer. In the inspired poetry of the Byzantine nun, the speechless woman of Saint Luke unburdens her soul in search for redemption. Kassiane translates the sinner's tears into passionate words. Through the device of the dramatic monologue the hymn becomes a poem of experience, enabling us to share the Sinful Woman's progress from sin to grace.

A piercing cry of despair is the Sinful Woman's first word. Οἶμαι introduces a high pitch of emotion and intensity into the troparion. While the tragic pain-filled cry still rings, the sinner begins her confession. As all penitential prayers require, it begins with a confession of guilt. With a cascade of sharp, dark images she describes her spiritual desolation:

ὅτι νύξ με συνέχει
οἷστρος ἀκολασίας,
ζοφώδης τε καὶ ἀσέληνος
ἔρωσ τῆς ἁμαρτίας.

For night holds me in its grip
the goad of lust,
murky and moonless
the love of sin

19 See Mt 28.1-10, Mk 16.1-10, Lk 24.1-10, Jn 20.1-10.

The Sinful Woman admits responsibility for her transgressions, for her failure to control her passions. This passionate and unconditional confession is unmatched either in the Triodion or in the Psalter.

By her confession the Sinful Woman begins to emerge from the "moonless night" of her sins. She now pleads for God's mercy and pardon. Her tensions and anguish reduced, she speaks more calmly. Her three petitions mark the three stages of her Lenten journey of *metanoia*, the "turning around" from darkness to light.

In the first petition the sinner invokes God, the Lord of nature who empties the clouds to fill the seas. To Him the Sinful Woman offers her tears, the outward visible sign of repentance. To symbolize the chasm which separates the sinful creature from the Creator, Kassiane draws a contrast between human tears and the vastness of the clouds and seas. Lesser hymnographers contented themselves with stock references to the "harlot's tears."

In the second petition the Sinful Woman moves inward from the visible and physical, to the invisible and spiritual. She asks God to "bend" toward her sorrowing heart. Instead of addressing God in terms of grandeur, transcendence and power, she appeals to God in terms of His humility and compassion, bending heaven to earth when He became man. Because Christ reconciled mankind and God, the Creator is no longer distant and beyond approach. Christ brought God to the Sinful Woman.

Confession, tears and prayer to a merciful God begin to heal the Sinful Woman, to liberate her from her sin-filled past. Looking now to the future, she gratefully promises Christ to kiss His feet again and to dry them with her hair. Divine love has erased the "moonless night" of guilt and sin.

At this point Kassiane's Sinful Woman recalls Eve, the first woman who sinned. Her allusion to the episode related in Genesis 3.8-11 implies a contrast between the Sinful Woman and Eve. After Adam and Eve had eaten the forbidden fruit, they fled and hid at the sound of God's footsteps. Eve had run *from* God, the Sinful Woman *to* Him. Her trust had vanquished all fear.

Far from being a 'pedantic' intrusion in Kassiane's penitential troparion, Eve's appearance is natural, even inevitable.²⁰ Early in the Christian era, Eve, not Adam, had been settled upon as the principal first sinner. Henceforth in sermons and hymns all women, good and bad alike, were destined to be tainted with the guilt of their first mother.²¹ From this taint only the Theotokos was exempt. Therefore, it is not surprising that the story of one sinful woman should suggest that of another, in this case the archetypal sinful woman. Eve and the repen-

20 Pace Tillyard, "A Musical Study of the Hymns of Cassia," p.432.

21 I have a study underway of Eve's image in Byzantine hymnography.

tant harlot appear together in many Lenten sermons and hymns, the disobedience of the first to be avoided, the *metanoia* of the second to be imitated.²²

The troparion then concludes with the Sinful Woman's third petition. The final appeal is less formal than the preceding two petitions, its tone more direct and intimate. The Sinful Woman now addresses God as her personal Redeemer, ψυχοσῶστα, Σωτήρ μου (Savior of souls, my Savior). The final words of Kassiane's troparion are spoken by the Sinful Woman. They shine with confidence and trust in God's love and mercy:

μή με τὴν σὴν δούλην παρίδης
ὁ ἀμέτρητον ἔχων τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.

Do not ignore me, your handmaiden
for You have mercy that is beyond measure.

Thus the prayer, which began with a cry of despair and guilt, ends with a statement of faith and hope. The hymn which began with an image of a lost soul ends with the image of that soul redeemed by God's infinite loving mercy.

In between this beginning and conclusion Kassiane traces the course of a Lenten pilgrimage from the murky night of sin to the brightness of salvation, the conversion of sinner to saint. To read this troparion with understanding is to experience the sinner's exodus from anguish to peace, the passover from death to life.

Across more than ten centuries Kassiane the Nun communicates her serene belief in the transforming grace of Christ's love. The Sinful Woman of her troparion embodies Kassiane's affirmation of Lenten hope and joy. It turns out that her Sinful Woman was a true saint.

²² For example, Saint Andrew of Crete in the Great Kanon upbraids his soul for imitating Eve rather than the *porne*.

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(established by Pachomios in 326), the Augustinian, and the Ignatian.

In the last chapter, the author argues for a new asceticism with new practices which may become valuable tools for contemporary Christianity.

I do not know what the opinion of other readers might be about the presence in the volume of such an abundance of patristic citations covering, perhaps, one third of the book's extent. As for me, I find that their use enlivens their authors and makes this excellent and fascinating book more lively.

Panagiotēs Chrestou
Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies

La vie religieuse à Byzance. By Jean Gouillard. London: Variorum Reprints, 1981. Pp. 364.

This volume of 364 pages includes sixteen studies published in a number of journals over a period of forty years, 1939-1978. They are all products of erudition and serious research. Gouillard has paid particular attention to the religious life in the Byzantine world, to its theological, as well as to its administrative and ceremonial aspects. The author has devoted a great part of his scholarly work to a field which has not attracted the interest of many other scholars—that of heresiology.

Indicative of Gouillard's interest is the article which has been placed at the head of the volume (No. 1); it is a survey of the heretical movements in Byzantium from the fourth to the twelfth century. He suggests that an investigation of all heresies be made, beginning with the publication of unedited anathematisms as its first phase. And, of course, he is quite qualified to initiate the pioneer work on the subject. An example of such a text is the hitherto unknown letter of Patriarch Kosmas I (1075-1081) against the Bogomiles which he shows to be the basis of the anti-Bogomile section of the Bulgarian Synodicon of Tsar Boril (1211). The letter is edited here for the first time (15). The following observations refer to minor defects, mostly printing errors. The word which is rendered by the Bulgarian *otmenjat* is ἀποβάλλεσθαι instead of ἐπιβάλλεσθαι (p. 366). The correct reading of the following words is (p. 366): θεοσεβεῖ for θεοσεβῆ (l. 7), ἀνέμαθον for ἀνέμαθον (17), ὠθοῦν for ὀθοῦν (20), and πάσας for πᾶσας (22).

As many as eight studies are devoted to the controversy on the icons. They vary in character, but usually refer to persons and texts generally of minor importance or unknown. So they are doubly welcome.

In Study 2, the author draws a general picture of the position of ascetics and, especially, of the contemplatives toward the use of icons through the ages. H. G. Beck had insisted in one of his studies that devo-

tion to icons had not played such an important role in Byzantine life as is usually believed. Beck limited himself to the discussion of official theology and worship. Gouillard, however, extends his examination to the field mentioned above. His tendency is to show that the contemplative monks of Byzantium, following the pattern of Evagrius, pursued *theoptia*, the individual vision of the divine and, therefore, were hostile to anthropomorphism which is inherent to icon veneration. This is an interesting and, from one point of view, a persuasive aspect; but it does not explain how it happened that the hesychastic movement of the fourteenth century gave such a great impulse to the growth of iconography and offered to the history of art not only Theophanes the Greek, but also the whole of the so-called Cretan school.

Study 7 is of a similar nature. It examines a fragment of Hypatios of Ephesos on the decoration of sanctuaries. This fragment, from the writing Σύμμικτα Ζητήματα, otherwise unknown, shows the aristocratic tendencies of Hypatios in his use of 'we.' "As far as 'we' are concerned," he says, "we prescribe that the ineffable philanthropy of God and the holy strivings of the saints be celebrated in holy letters [i.e., not in icons]; but 'we' allow the *simple* faithful to use icons for their instruction" (emphasis added). The fragment was used in the florilegia of the second iconoclastic period.

Study 4 examines anew the problem of the testimony of Pope Gregory II (715-730) about the beginnings of the iconoclastic controversy. The two letters of the Pope to Emperor Leo III contain very important and unique information on the subject. After careful examination of all the textual and historical problems, the author rejects their authenticity and, therefore, the value of their testimony. Finally, he edits the text of the letters on the basis of the two branches of their manuscript tradition. Here, again, I have to point to some errors. We should read: διδασκάλων (l. 12), τὰς (13), πατέρων (17), στάμνον (67), τοιαῦτά εἰσιν (104), σχολείων (134), ἅπασαι αἱ (261), ὄντως (262), πέμψεις τινάς (270), αἱμάτων ἐσμέν (271), τῇ πάντων χριστιανῶν Ἐκκλησίᾳ (281-82), φρονιμώτερος εἰ σύ instead of φρονιμώτεροι εἰσι (289), ἐκείνοις (291), λαλούντων (315), ἐκ σοῦ (323), τράχηλον; (interrogation, 358), ἰδοῦ (367), and καὶ σέ (382).

In Study 5, the author points out the fact that, in spite of the close rapprochement of the churches of Constantinople and Rome during the iconoclastic period and the appeals of Theodore Studites, no one mentioned Rome in the Synod of 843 when icon veneration was restored. The Easterners insisted on the pentarchy of the Patriarchates, while the Romans stood on the primacy.

Two almost unknown personalities of the second iconoclastic period are presented in Study 6: Lezix, a Manichean and probably also an iconoclast; and Theodore Krithinos, the last of the great iconoclasts.

There exist testimonies and indications that Patriarch John Gramma-

tikos, who was deposed in 843, was an erudite prelate and a contributor to the renaissance of Greek letters; but nothing written by his hand had been known. The author presents in Study 8 three fragments from one of the patriarch's writings contained in two unedited antirrhetics of an unknown author on the icon of Christ. In the antirrhetics the patriarch is called John the Lekanomantes.

In Study 9, the author analyzes an unedited and unknown biography of Euthymios of Sardes, who had suffered in the persecution of the second iconoclastic period, and is the first person to have been mentioned in the list of the Synodicon of Orthodoxy. Gouillard's hypothesis that the author of this biography is Patriarch Methodios is quite convincing. In the Greek passages cited in the article, we need to read: συντελοῦσά τι (p. 37, l. 25); καὶ ἔστι (p. 39, l. 29 and p. 44, l. 36); ἐγρηγόρει for ἐν γρηγόρει (p. 44, l. 10); μὴ δεδίττεσθαι for μὴ δέ δείττεσθαι (p. 44, l. 30-31); εἰρκταῖς (p. 44, l. 34); προὔπεδείξαμεν (p. 45, l. 11).

According to the author (Study 10), the ecclesiastical art which was developed in Byzantium immediately after the end of the iconoclastic controversy was inspired and directed by the theological thought of the period. So the scenes of the victory of Orthodoxy, painted in the miniatures of the famous psalters of Chloudov and of Pantocratoros 61, are based on contemporary texts. Biblical figures of the Virgin Mary, prophetic visions, and theophanies are inspired by the Synodicon itself. The great monumental compositions were based on instructions given officially, as is shown in such texts as the homilies of Photios and of Emperor Leo VI, which constitute real programs of iconography. However, much good work had been done in this field even before this study was published.

Two studies refer to the religious convictions of learned men of the Byzantine era. No. 3 examines the case of both philosophers of the eleventh century. The author finds John Italos a good dialectician, but insufficiently informed on patristic literature. Since Italos lacked a steady religious criteria, his two professions, the theological and the philosophical, inevitably collided. On the contrary, his teacher, Michael Psellos, had succeeded in harmonizing his philosophical and religious convictions.

The last study (No. 16) presents a concise picture of the humanistic aspects of Nicholas Kabasilas, as they are expressed in books 6 and 7 of his work, *The Life of Christ*. He believes that Kabasilas constructed a synthesis of the Christian religious experience with that of classical wisdom. This is true, as it is also true that Kabasilas was one of the most profound Christian theologians. However, if the author had taken into consideration the numerous monographs and studies written on Kabasilas in recent times by Greek and Russian writers (Laourdas, Angelopoulos, Nellas, Myrna Borodin), he would have given a much better account of the subject.

Another group of studies refers to heretical or marginal texts. I note first Study 11 in which the author presents a radical view. By basing his argumentation on some impressive parallels between the propositions from the *Chapters* of Constantinos Chrysomallos, which were condemned in the Synod of 1140 as Bogomile, and the homilies of Symeon the New Theologian, in addition to other internal evidences, Gouillard ascribes the authorship of the homilies of Symeon to the pupils of Chrysomallos. These men, after the condemnation of their teacher, took some important elements of his teachings and composed these homilies, put them under the name of Symeon, and edited them together with well-known works of Symeon. Up to now these homilies were thought to have been edited by Niketas Stethatos on the basis of some texts and formulations of Symeon. The author's main argument for his hypothesis is that in homily 13, it is said that the Devil has an evil past of 6600 years, which brings us to the year 1091, too distant from the year of the death of Symeon, now placed by Westerners in the year 1022. This reviewer places the year of Symeon's death much later, and believes that Niketas Stethatos might have lived to 1091. Since not all of the propositions condemned by the Synod appear in the homilies, and since many scholars date the first manuscript, preserving the homilies of Symeon, earlier than the date of the Synod, the best solution might be that the homilies of Symeon suffered slight contamination by some Messalian expressions.

In Studies 12 and 13, the work of two ascetic writers somewhat neglected up to now—Petros Damaskenos of the twelfth century and Theognostos of the fourteenth—is evaluated.

The literary work bearing the name of Theodore of Edessa is characterized by the author as either pseudepigraphical or borrowed (14).

Panagiotes Chrestou

Does Chalcedon Divide or Unite? Towards Convergence in Orthodox Christology. Edited by Paulos Gregorios, William H. Lazareth, and Nikos A. Nissiotis. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1981. Pp. xii + 156. Paper \$7.95.

The year 1981 marked more than 1500 years since the Synod of Chalcedon (451) and the 1600th anniversary of the Synod of Constantinople and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed—both events of enormous significance for Christianity and especially for the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches. By 'Eastern,' it is commonly agreed, is meant the one Church which is made up of the four ancient Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; the modern Patriarchates of Russia, Rumania, Serbia, and Bulgaria; and the autocephalous churches such as Cyprus and Greece. By 'Oriental' is

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religion.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

Lumière d'Orient, des chrétientés d'Asie aux mystères évangélique. By Jean Tourniac. In the collection "Mystiques et Religions." Paris: Dervy Livres, 1979. Pp. 158.

Lumière d'Orient is a fascinating study of dissident Christian groups of the Middle and Far East, specifically the Nestorians and Armenian Monophysites. Its approach to these Christian communities is unique and, strictly speaking, represents neither an historical nor a theological treatment. It focuses on what Tourniac refers to as the esoteric and mysterious elements of these groups and these elements as they relate to the interactions of Nestorian and Monophysites with their non-Christian environments, the Crusading Knights, and the synodal debates of the fourth through the eighth centuries. Although he does not define his purpose, it appears by the end of the work to be the disclosure of the life of these two communities as that life reveals the non-synodal and primitive nature of their belief and practices as "esoteric." It was this esoteric element which provided the point of contact between the Monophysites and Nestorians, on the one hand, and the Crusading Knights, on the other.

Both the Armenians and Nestorians played the role of mediator of Eastern religious elements to the West through their close social and military contacts with the Crusaders, particularly Templars. It is quite central for Tourniac's thesis that the Armenians were "localisé géographiquement dans le territoire du mazdéisme" (p. 18), because it was this Syro-mazdean tradition which helped to fashion "une morphologie mentale étrangère au byzantinisme," and presumably congenial to the Latin military orders (p. 27). What strikes Tourniac is the intimacy of the confrontation between Christianity of the East and the West at this period in the Holy Land. The strong and intimate bond between the Armenians and the Templars is symbolized by the presence in the Holy Land of Armenian masons and stoneworkers and the noted building programs of the Templars in the East. Although the presence of Armenian builders has already been noted by Charles Diehl in his work on Byzantine art, it is difficult to conclude that it was the "esoteric" elements of two groups of "builders" which encouraged ecclesiastical union (p. 35). He speaks of different men, from different cultures, drinking from the same "vin de la Connaissance" (p. 48). It is of note here that Tourniac does not discuss any of the actual union negotiations which occurred between the Armenian Church(es) and Rome and the chauvinistic process whereby a great many Latin liturgical customs were introduced into the

Armenian Church as a result. Could union negotiations have been encouraged on a basis other than a common sense of the "esoteric?" Is not the fact that the Crusaders and the Armenians were hostile to both the Muslims and the Byzantines sufficient to explain any unionist impulses?

The key to Tourniac's work is his application of the term "esoteric" to Nestorians and Monophysites belief systems as a means of understanding their relationships with the West. One of the frustrating things about the book is the author's failure to define what he means by "esoteric"; the connections he makes based on this category are consequently interesting but suspicious. He devotes one section to a comparison of *esotericism* and *exotericism* (pp. 103-105), but the reader is still left with no clear notion of the way in which he is using the term. He refers to the use of symbols such as the masonic emblems, and notes, for instance, that Saint Gregory the Illuminator is portrayed with a square in hand and is referred to as "The Illuminator," both being "esoteric" references.

What he seems to mean by esotericism does not become clear until the second part of the book which is a rather ordinary outline of the synodal debates of the fourth through the eighth centuries. Since these two bodies rejected most of the seven Ecumenical Synods, their structure and belief systems represent a relatively primitive (esoteric? mysterious?) Christianity which was characterized by non-propositional theology. The absence of the separate feast for the Nativity of Christ which was celebrated with the Coming of the Magi and the Baptism in the Jordan, is significant for Tourniac as a primitive and esoteric remnant which survived Byzantine ecclesiastical imperialism. It was the synods which distorted the early Christian belief by defining and limiting the truth and so tending towards an *exoteric* Christianity. By the end of the book Tourniac uses the term esotericism in opposition to propositional formulations.

He is no doubt correct in the conclusion that all heresies represent a disproportionate emphasis on one particular aspect of the truth; once the truth is formulated propositionally, those maintaining only one aspect of it are, of necessity, excluded from the main body. One must, however, question whether this qualifies the dissenters as "esoteric." Was not Monophysite and Nestorian theology defined just as precisely in opposition to Orthodox synodal declarations?

The author's organization of the material could have been improved with the simple transfer of the closing section on the synodal debates to an earlier part of the work. This would have provided a framework for understanding the Monophysites and Nestorians, use of the term "esoteric," and the relationship of the two dissident communities to mainstream Christianity. In addition, this reviewer missed any mention of the stranger and more isolated case of the Maronites who, confined to one section of Lebanon since the seventh century, welcomed the crusader armies as "fellow" Catholics at the end of the eleventh century.

Finally, this reviewer would have appreciated a sociological treatment of the phenomena that Tourniac describes. This sociological aspect could have been pursued profitably as an alternative or corrective, but not as a contradiction, to the author's basic thesis. Isolation as a sociological phenomenon has a theological corollary in that small and dissident Christian communities do not have the corrective of continuing intercourse with mainstream ecclesiastical life. It is this factor which, for the Orthodox theologian, will be seen to be as important in any modern union negotiations as is the initial disagreement on the person of Jesus in the synodal debates.

The book would be a valuable asset to any theological library as long as it is read for its unique development of the "connections" among the Nestorian, Monophysites, crusaders, and the religious systems of the Middle and Far East. Tourniac has collected a great deal of fascinating information which will make great reading for the specialist in either Church history, theology or the occult. The professional scholar will, however, be frustrated by the almost complete lack of footnotes, especially for the sources of several extensive in-text quotations.

John L. Boojamra
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Offenbarung und Überlieferung: neue Möglichkeiten eines Dialogs zwischen der orthodoxen und der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche. By Viorel Mehedințu. (Forschungen zur systematischen u. ökumenischen Theologie; Bd. 40) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1980. Pp. 352. Paperbound.

In Romania an Orthodox-Lutheran dialogue has been in progress for thirty years; similar meetings have been held in various other countries including the United States, and talks on an international level have now begun. This book by a Romanian scholar, "Revelation and Tradition: New Possibilities of a Dialogue between the Orthodox and Evangelical-Lutheran Church," is intended to be of service in improving mutual understanding, not only in the area inhabited by professional theologians, but also in a wider field. Perhaps one day a courageous and competent translator will put it into English (and perhaps Romanian), where it will be very useful, although the Orthodox who attempts a first passage through the thickets of modern Teutonic theology will be in for some surprises. A very different frame of mind is evident here.

The book is divided into three main parts, the first of which deals with Revelation in its various aspects: historical, personal, and continuative. With the aid of copious citations from the works of modern German theologians, we consider the Jesus of history and the Christ of the

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The table of contents is as follows: Church Organization (pp. 1-102); (2) The Church under Turkish Rule (pp. 103-46); (3) Neomartyrs and Crypto-Christians (pp. 147-59); (4) Heretical Teachings and Dogmatic Differences (pp. 161-82); (5) Relations with the Other Churches (pp. 183-223); (6) Monasteries and Monks (pp. 225-55); (7) Moral and Social life (pp. 257-78); (8) Education and the Schools (pp. 279-303); Glossary of Turkish Terms (pp. 305-08); and Bibliography (pp. 309-11).

Each document bears a title referring to the content, the date of publication, and some other points of interest for each source. In the footnotes biblical references are cited.

Vasil Istravidis

Ἡ πνευματικότητα τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Πατερικῆς Παραδόσεως εἰς τὴν οἰκουμενικὴν αὐτῆς ἐπικαιρότητα. [The Spirituality of Orthodox Patristic Tradition in its Ecumenical Present-Day Reality]. By Ioannes K. Kalogerou. Thessalonike, 1981. Pp. 62.

This is the panegyric oration delivered by Professor Ioannes K. Kalogerou, School of Theology, University of Thessalonike, on the occasion of the celebration of the Feast of the Three Hierarchs (Day of Letters), 30 January 1980, in the Aristotelian University of Thessalonike.

In his address, Professor Kalogerou takes up three subjects: Orthodox spirituality, Orthodox patristic tradition, and the ecumenical reality of this spirituality today.

In the section on Orthodox spirituality, the author focuses on three saints: John the Evangelist, Gregory the Theologian, and Symeon the New Theologian.

The spiritual life of the Church is seen in its close relationship to the patristic tradition, and particularly to the teaching of the three hierarchs: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and John Chrysostomos.

Finally, the above two subjects are skillfully related to the present ecumenical movement.

In his study Kalogerou does not fail to include the views of other Orthodox theologians, such as those of Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Peristerion, V. T. Istavridis, John Karmires, Georges Tsetses, Nicholas Mtsoukas, Spyridon Bilales, Justin Popovitch, Anastasios Pierios and Chrestos Yannaras, on the ecumenical movement.

Vasil Istavridis

Martyria/Mission: The Witness of the Orthodox Churches Today. Edited by Ion Bria. Geneva: The World Council of Churches, 1980. Pp.

xi + 255. Paper.

The Rev. Professor Ion Bria, the editor of this volume, is a Romanian Orthodox theologian and Secretary for Orthodox Studies and Relations in the Commission on Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches.

According to Emilio Castro, Director of the above Commission, two factors have stimulated the Commission to prepare and publish this book: first, the growing Orthodox participation in the missiological discussions of the Commission; and second, the need to have a better knowledge of Orthodox life and thought and their relations to the mission of the Orthodox Churches.

The first section of this book, whose introduction was written by the editor, deals with "Concerns and Challenges of Mission in the Orthodox World Today" (pp. 1-71). The various articles have been written by well-known Orthodox theologians who have, more or less, an affiliation with mission from an Orthodox perspective. Some of the studies have appeared elsewhere.

The contents include: Metropolitan Chrysostomos Konstantinidis of Myra, "New Orthodox Insights in Evangelism" (pp. 12-19); Bishop Anastasios Yannoulatos of Androussa, "Discovering the Orthodox Missionary Ethos" (pp. 20-29); Metropolitan George Khodre of Mount Lebanon, "The Church as the Privileged Witness of God" (pp. 30-37); Metropolitan Emilianos Timiadis of Sylbria, "The Missionary Dimension of Monasticism" (pp. 38-44); Dumitru Staniloae, "Witness Through 'Holiness' of Life" (pp. 45-51); Elizabeth Behr-Sigel, "The Participation of Women in the Life of the Church" (pp. 52-59); Panayotis Nellas, "The Ministry of the Laity" (p. 60-65); and Ion Bria, "The Liturgy after the Liturgy" (pp. 66-71).

The second section, "Witnessing Churches" (pp. 73-217), has the following parts: "Introduction" (p. 75-76); "Eastern Orthodox Churches" (pp. 77-180); and "Oriental Orthodox Churches" (pp. 181-217).

In the introduction there is a catalogue of Chalcedonian, non-Chalcedonian, and the Diaspora Churches. The rest of the section is dedicated to the study of these Churches, with the exception of the Orthodox Churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and the Syrian Church of Antioch. Nevertheless, some articles on the Diaspora Churches are related to the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

The authors display a balance between stressing the national and particular characteristics of each Orthodox Church, and the catholicity and ecumenicity of Orthodoxy.

The third section contains excerpts from the official reports of recent "Orthodox Consultations on Mission" (219-248).

Vasil Istavridis

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GEORGE MANTZARIDIS

MOUNT ATHOS AND TODAY'S SOCIETY

Eighteen years ago in 1963, the Orthodox world, and along with it all of Christendom, celebrated the millenary of the Holy Mountain (Hagion Oros), also known as Mount Athos. From very early times the Holy Mountain had attracted the interest of exceptional Christian anchorites. At the end of the first Christian millenium, in 963, the monastery of the Great Lavra was founded there by Saint Athanasios the Athonite, thus inaugurating the period during which the Holy Mountain flourished and reached its peak. The monasteries of Iviron, Vatopedi, Saint Paul, and others were subsequently founded, forming the Athonite "state." This special society justifiably boasts of being the oldest and most long-lived democracy in the world.

The celebration of the millenary gave many people the opportunity to take a special interest in the Holy Mountain. The flora and fauna, the monastic life, and the spiritual and ascetic tradition of the Holy Mountain were objects of keen interest for Greek and foreign scholars alike. Simultaneously, though, the panegyric celebration was taking place amid pessimistic outlooks for the future of Hagiorite monasticism. All objective facts witnessed to the steady decline of this thousand-year-old state. The unceasing agedness, the gap which had developed between lay Christians and the Athonite monks, and the almost absolute lack of young men in the Athonite state created the impression that its demise was imminent. Of course, this decline was not the first that Athonite monasticism had experienced in its age-old history. However, almost everyone thought that it was its last. Even many of the monks themselves believed that they would not have successors in their monasteries and hermitages. For this reason, it had even been said that the millenary celebration was simultaneously the funeral service for the monasticism of Mount Athos.

On the other hand, the invaluable treasures of the Holy Mountain evoked in certain responsible and irresponsible parties the thought that perhaps tourism should be developed. However, the prospects of such development did not seem very favorable. According to special detailed studies, the estimated cost of developing tourism on the Holy Mountain and of protecting its treasures by security guards, who would eventually take the place of the monks, would be much greater than the predicted income.

However, as these things were going on, an odd change was noted in the 'Garden of the Panagia,' as the monks customarily call the Holy

Mountain. A change which not even the most optimistic, objective perspectives could have foreseen, but one which justified the simplistic and innocent hope of those Athonite monks, who always said that the Theotokos would not allow her garden to be deserted.

An impromptu statistical study, which we made about the end of the first decade after the "funeral service," showed the following notable sign, which drew our particular attention. While during previous decades the statistics showed that the number of monks on the Holy Mountain steadily decreased, in 1972 for the first time the statistics showed not a decrease, but rather an increase of one unit compared to the previous year. Thus, while in 1971 there were 1,145 monks on Mount Athos, in 1972 there were 1146. Combining this insignificant, as it well may be, numerical increase with the existence of a relatively high number of monks 31-40 years of age in the clearly aged population of the Holy Mountain, we received the impression that favorable prospects had begun to be created for the future of Athonite monasticism.¹

This impression began to be verified by the further development of Athonite monasticism, which we then tried to observe and investigate more systematically. Thus, the numerical increase of Athonite monks after the liberation of Macedonia from the Turks (1912) is as follows.

In 1913 the twenty monasteries of the Holy Mountain with their twelve sketes and approximately 650 dependencies numbered in toto 6,345 monks from various Orthodox areas (Greece, Russia, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Georgia). Thirty years later, in 1943, the Holy Mountain numbered only 2,878 monks; in other words, less than half. The number of monks on Mount Athos dropped to 2,160 in 1950, to 1,893 in 1956, to 1,641 in 1959, to 1,491 in 1965, and reached the lowest of 1,145 in 1971.² 1972 marked the increase in the number of monks by one unit, as we mentioned earlier. In 1974 there were 1,200 monks, and in 1976 there were 1,206. In 1978 the number reached 1,217, but in 1980 this figure declined to 1,191.

In this way from 1972 to 1978, all in all 381 monks arrived at the Holy Mountain. Thus, during this period an average of fifty-four monks a year came to the Holy Mountain, that is 5.3%. This percentage is especially high when one takes into consideration that the birth of new people in Greece, to which the arrival of new monks is related, is in the range of 1.6%. Alongside this, however, there is a corresponding decrease in the population of the Athonite monks due to deaths and departures. Thus, in the same period (1972-1978) the Holy Mountain on

1 George Mantzarides, "Statistical Data Concerning the Monks of Mount Athos," *Επιστημονική Έπετηρίς της Θεολογικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, 17 (1972) p. 420.

2 For statistics up to that year see R. Janin, *Les Églises Orientales et les Rites Orientaux* (Paris, 1955), p. 122. N. Mylonakis, *Mount Athos and the Slavs* (Athens, 1960), pp. 60-64. *Irenikon* 34 (1961) 357-59; 39 (1966) 241-42; 40 (1967) 232; 42 (1969) 228; 43 (1970) 570; 44 (1971) 529-30.

an average was losing forty-two monks a year. Finally, taking into consideration deaths and departures, the average annual clear increase in the number of monks on the Holy Mountain during this period was only twelve monks a year, that is, about 1.0%.

This relatively small annual increase in the total number of monks on the Holy Mountain in relation to their arrival is due mainly to the high number of deaths of its very aged population. This was shown by the graphs of the monks' ages during 1972-74, which we previously published.³ It is natural for this high number of deaths to be continued in the next ten to twenty years on account of the large number of very aged monks. On the other hand, it is also possible that the rate of increase of the monastic population will markedly decrease, because after the group arrivals, the repopulation of the Holy Mountain is again starting to take place basically with individual arrivals. Thus, the decrease in the number of monks observed in 1980, which may possibly continue in the near future, must be considered natural when we keep in mind the restoration of the normal balance in the ages of the monks of the Holy Mountain. Finally, it is especially important to note that on the Holy Mountain not only the traditionally Orthodox peoples are represented, but other peoples of Europe and America with their Orthodox citizens are also represented.

Another fact which is ascertained from this investigation is that the increase in the monasticism of the Holy Mountain does not result from the development of all or even most of the monasteries, but from the growth of only a few of them. In particular, up to the year 1974 we observed that of the twenty sacred monasteries of the Holy Mountain only eight showed an increase, while in the remaining twelve a decrease in the number of monks was noted. These eight monasteries are: Iviron, Chilandariou, Karakallou, Philotheou, Simonos Petras, Gregoriou, and Esphigmenou. Of these eight the three—Philotheou, Simonos Petras, and Gregoriou—showed an impressive increase, which reached triple the number of monks in the case of Simonos Petras. This phenomenon is due to the fact that the repopulation of the Holy Mountain during this period did not take place in the customary manner of old, that is with the arrival of isolated individuals, but with the collective settlement of groups or brotherhoods, which were composed of young men who came from 'the world' or from other monasteries outside of the Holy Mountain. These groups or brotherhoods usually maintained their bonds with wider circles of followers, who continue to remain outside of the Holy Mountain and who support them with new members.

During this flourishing period for Holy Mountain monasticism, there also appeared a tendency for groups of monks from monastic dependencies, which to this day comprise about three-fifths of the

3 G. Mantzaridis, "New Statistical Data Concerning the Monks of Mount Athos," *Social Compass* 12 (1975) 102-03.

Athonite monks, to transfer to the monasteries. The adverse condition of the sacred monasteries affected the few zealous monks who approached monasticism, not preferring the monasteries, but rather the isolated hermitages in which ascetics with particular spiritual radiance lived. Thus, already from the beginning of the decade of the 1960s noteworthy groups of monks with special power started to emerge. However, the increase of the members of these groups simultaneously means an increase in their financial and housing needs, which made it problematic for them to remain at the dependency and so created the need for them to find more suitable housing. The monasteries which had begun to be deserted by the monks offered more suitable housing and their properties also provided financial means for the increased needs of the groups.

Thus the monasteries became poles of attraction for the groups and brotherhoods which were both within the Holy Mountain and outside of it. Flourishing brotherhoods populated the monasteries which were becoming deserted. These new monks assumed the administration of the monasteries in which they settled, and created the means not only for their own stay but also for the arrival of new members.

Finally, from the middle of the 1970s the collective transferal of monks from more flourishing monasteries to weaker ones can be observed. In these cases the group of monks which enters the weaker monastery assumes the monastery's administration. The disproportionate increase in the monastic population of some monasteries is thus limited, and the desertion of other monasteries is avoided.

The numerical increase in the monks of the Holy Mountain keeps pace with the decrease in the average age. This occurs because almost everyone who entered monasticism during the most recent period was young in age. Of course even the newer graphs of ages of the Athonite monks does not affect the generally very aged population. Comparing the newer graphs with the older ones, though, we immediately recognized the obvious progress of Holy Mountain monasticism even from this point of view.

Finally, the educational level of Holy Monks shows an impressive improvement. Thus, in the recent period more and more graduates of institutions of higher learning have arrived, while the level of education of the monks, which already is higher than the level of education of boys in Greece, continually improves.⁴ Significantly, we note that while in the five years of 1960-1964 among those who entered the Holy Mountain there were only three graduates of higher level schools (3%); during the five years which followed twenty-one graduates of institutions of higher education entered. During the period from 1970-1974, twenty-nine (15%) more graduates arrived. In the last five years, eighteen of the twenty-nine graduates had studied theology while the remaining eleven had degrees for various other university studies.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-05.

Moreover, from the viewpoint of the organization of monastic life, the Holy Mountain has recently shown notable improvement. The cenobitic system for the organization of cohabitation of the monks is generally recognized as the genuine system for the organization of the cohabitation of monks. This system cultivates the unity of the monks and emphasizes their attributes as members of the single body of Christ. The idiorhythmic system in which the element of personal property exists is a corruption of the cenobitic system. This system which appeared during critical circumstances of monasticism's history left its deep mark on the monasticism of the Holy Mountain. In any case, none of the twenty sacred monasteries which exist today on the Holy Mountain remained untouched by this idiorhythmic phase for a greater or lesser period of time. This phase, however, is not recognized as regular. For this reason, the "Constitutional Charter of the Holy Mountain" forbids cenobitic monasteries from becoming idiorhythmic, although it allows the conversion of idiorhythmic monasteries into cenobitic ones.⁵ The tendency which prevails today on the Holy Mountain is precisely the return to the cenobitic system. Thus, during the past few years four of the nine idiorhythmic monasteries of the Holy Mountain became officially cenobitic—Stavronikita in 1968, Philotheou in 1972, Great Lavra and Diochiariou in 1980—while two more monasteries are already in the process of converting to the cenobitic way of life.

Generally, the Holy Mountain today with its cenobitic, communal, and heremitic monasticism synoptically preserves all the basic forms which Christian monasticism has taken during its age-old history.

In a special study projected for the future, once this year's statistics are available, we shall attempt to interpret more systematically the phenomenon of the revival of Holy Mountain monasticism. However, the general overview of the given data already leads us to interesting conclusions. First of all, it becomes clear that the young men coming to the Holy Mountain during this period do not have financial motives, as those who came in the past could have had. At that time, whoever was poor could there secure housing, food, and general protection which was not so easily secured in society. Now, however, all the young men who come to stay at the Holy Mountain could easily make a career in society and could secure a much better and more comfortable lifestyle. However, although financial motives do not play an important role, there are other reasons which explain a young man's decision to live on the Holy Mountain.

The first reason is the rapid secularization of the life of the faithful in the world. We all know that the phenomenon of secularization in our day has taken on huge dimensions. This secularization is not restricted only to the areas of moral and community life, but has deeper anthropological

extensions, which cause important disturbances in the conscience and orientation of man in the world. The person who in the past accepted some meaning or goal in his life as self-evident, regardless of whether or not he conformed his ethical and social behavior to it, today tends to accept the lack of any meaning or goal in life. The search for universal truth which can recapitulate and orientate man is pushed aside.

Today man occupies himself with many conventional truths, which circulate usually in the name of scholarship and which serve his individual or social needs and desires. These truths, which have no ontological character, but only a functional one, are restricted within the range of secular necessity, and for this reason not only do they not fulfill man, but they augment his alienation and his lack of orientation. Thus, an alternative to this deadlock created by the secularization of our age is offered by the Holy Mountain. Similar reasons had contributed, as we know, to the first appearance of Christian monasticism. With the mass arrival of the gentiles and the secularization of the life of the faithful in the fourth century after the recognition of Christianity as an official religion, many faithful took refuge in monasticism. Thus, "the desert blossomed like a lily" in order to offer the fruits of the Spirit, which continue to be produced to this day on the Holy Mountain.

That first flight of the faithful from the world was considered by many to be a kind of protest against social life. This interpretation, however, is probably extreme. The monk does not abandon the world out of reaction, but out of weakness to live the spiritual life he desires in the world. As was rightly observed, the monk does not say to the people of the world, "Because of the way you've become now, I can no longer remain with you," but rather "I'm not strong enough to remain near you and near God."⁶ The monk leaves the conventionality of the world, because he seeks the charismatic dimension of Christian life. Flight from the world comprises a kind of social suicide, and is realized as a resurrection to a new level of life. With the affirmation of the common human fate, death, the monk gains a life stronger than death. For this reason, the monk's flight does not mean a negation of social relations with people, but a subjection of these relations to vertical communion, that is communion with God. With this meaning, monasticism comprises a kind of "anti-society" which without having the meaning of opposition to secular society, creates the presuppositions for, as much as possible, a freer development of man as a person and as a social being, unrestricted by social and secular unconventionality. The name "abbas," which means "father" and is used for the monk, shows one of his charismatic qualities, which also places his social relationships with other people on a new level. In this charismatic and unusual 'anti-society' the aim is not man's subjection to any objective system whatsoever, nor is it the improvement of one particular area of man's life; rather, man's fulfillment as a person "in the

6 K. Heussi, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums* (Tübingen, 1936), p. 111.

image and likeness of God" is pursued. For this reason monasticism does not deny anything in the human condition, but embraces and completely fulfills it.

A second reason for choosing the monastic life on Mount Athos is the crisis which ecclesiastical life has recently experienced. This crisis, of course, has deeper roots in the history of Greece. Since the reestablishment of the Greek state, the ecclesiastical life of the Greek people has not developed smoothly. This has had important effects on the course of the entire nation. A large part of the Church's work, which had remained undone due to poor organization and the clergy's weakness or indifference, began to be undertaken by religious organizations. This created new possibilities, but also new problems in ecclesiastical life, as was natural considering the general confusion. Finally, in the second half of our century, the ecclesiastical institutions experienced a particular crisis and their value in the area of community life was seriously questioned. The religious movements experienced an even greater crisis, which resulted in their losing their influence on the faithful, and especially on the youth who had supported them. One could, of course, also speak of the crisis of monasticism in this period, but monasticism had already been considered expended and unrelated to community life. Even many religious circles looked disdainfully upon a young man's abandonment of the world for the sake of devoting himself to the monastic life. For this reason, the youth who had particular religious interests were influenced by these circles and would not even dare to think of becoming a monk. Besides, they had all the possibilities of working for Christ in the world, or so they said. Thus, no one dealt with traditional monasticism or with those who lived their lives in monasteries. The Holy Mountain invited only museum-piece interest. For this reason its thousand-year celebration seemed like the funeral service of its guardians.

The greatest truth, however, which Christianity preaches is the truth of the resurrection of the dead. This truth is often realized where there are people who voluntarily accept death. Such people are first and foremost the monks. Monks are in a position to conquer the pressures of time and the limitations of space and can see mortification as a new life.

It is characteristic that from the minute a person sets foot on the Holy Mountain he feels that time flows there differently. When he becomes slightly more acquainted with the life of the monks, this feeling is strengthened even more. He perceives that another view of time stretches before him which gives a particular tone to the whole of life. The present is not pressured by the anxiety for the future, as occurs in our daily life, but it is transfigured and becomes a vessel of eternity. The corruption which time causes is not faced as an unconquerable misfortune, but rather is associated with the spiritual struggle for time's eternal fulfillment.

Something analogous occurs with space as well. The space in which a

monk lives—the place which he guards, to recall the characteristic monastic expression—is transformed into a greenhouse of paradise. Ceaseless prayer and communion with the transcendent God unrestrictedly widens space and transforms it into heaven. We lay people, who usually have much more comfortable and more elegant spaces available to us, quickly become bored and take flight. It is difficult, if perhaps not impossible, for us to stay in one place keeping ourself company. We seek something outside ourselves. Probably we are seeking the lost paradise which we do not suspect is hidden inside ourselves. We go out in groups, especially on vacations and holidays, in order to enjoy ourselves a little, to ease the boredom. This feeling of flight is unknown to the monk. The monastery, and particularly the monastery's church, the 'katholikon,' which is a very small and restricted area, becomes the whole world (*kath'olou*) wherein everything harmoniously concelebrates. Thus, the real monk does not feel the need to go away from his monastery, and he does not leave, unless serious reasons force him to do so. Something similar existed in former times. Today, however, the world, and even the Church as well—not as the body of Christ, but as an institution which moves within history—is often trapped in space and time, and is limited in a one-sided view of life, which hopelessly impoverishes man. This poverty now becomes more unbearable and more tragic, because it appears within the framework of material abundance and comforts which are unequalled in human history. Thus, the Word of God is as relevant for today's man as it was when it was first addressed to the bishop of the church of Laodicea: "For you say, I am rich, I have prospered, and I need nothing; not knowing that you are wretched, pitiable, poor, blind, and naked. Therefore, I counsel you to buy from me gold refined by fire, that you may be rich, and white garments to clothe you and to keep the shame of your nakedness from being seen, and salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see."⁷ The fired gold, white garments, and salve which God offers and which man so desperately needs in our age, never ceased to exist in those who do not boast of riches. They never ceased to be purchased by those who paid the price of their own lives and who can be blessed precisely because they do not own anything and are not pressured by anything. The Holy Mountain therefore presents a particular attraction to contemporary man, and especially to today's youth, who are disappointed by prosperity and the vanity of worldly life and who seek more correct, more genuine orientations. For this reason, finally, many young people, who previously took refuge in religious organizations, today prefer the Holy Mountain.

The third reason which affected the revival of Athonite monasticism is the presence on the Holy Mountain of certain well-known hermits with special spiritual and ethical radiance. Truly noble persons with the

⁷ Rev 3.17-18.

greatest possible human freedom and the smallest dependence on human considerations and institutions, the monks have always been the vanguard of Orthodox monasticism. It would, therefore, be odd if today there would be a revival of monasticism, without the simultaneous existence of such spiritual persons. If as in the past such men were necessary not only for monasticism, but also for the whole community, today they are literally invaluable.

The characteristic mark of contemporary society is its tendency to destroy persons and personal relationships, organizing everything impersonally and bureaucratically. This phenomenon did not leave the Church unaffected either. The Church, though, is not a social organization, but a theanthropic society with transcendent dimensions. This means that as long as a church remains a church it is not restricted within conventional social forms, when they depersonalize man, but she creates her own forms with which she expresses her charismatic meaning. One such form is monasticism. It is not by chance that monasticism first appeared in the life of the Church during a period in which the Church's organizational dimension was intensely strengthened. Precisely then the body of the Church, which could not be restricted within the framework of a secular state, created a vital new area for her members, the desert. This was simultaneously an expression and an assurance of the Church's dynamism.

We can say the same today, to a much lesser degree of course, of the revival of monasticism, which is not limited to the Holy Mountain but also has wider dimensions. The more and more intense bureaucratic organization of our society, which also affects the Church, exerts asphyxiating pressures on the members of the Church. When they are living they express their reaction, as does every living organism. This reaction of the church's members can help or harm the whole body, according to its type. The history of the Church, as well as the contemporary Church, offers quite a few examples of both kinds of reactions. However, that which interests us here is monasticism.

Monasticism is not a reaction against the Church, but a reaction within the Church itself and for the reckoning of the Church. Monasticism was born and was preserved as an unbreakable part of the life of the Church. Particularly in the tradition of Orthodoxy, monasticism basically cultivates the inward life of the Church, while the monks, as an Hagiorite monk observed, are the Church's "endocrine glands" who with their invisible functions offer the necessary vital juices for the life of the ecclesiastical body. The whole tradition of the Orthodox Church witnesses to the organic relationship which monasticism has with the society of the faithful which live in the world. The spirit of monasticism, even as a sacred extreme, is a most essential element for the smooth preservation of the life of the Church in the world, especially when the needs of historical survival or the opportunities of social presence excessively

burden her institutional dimensions and make her objectifications inflexible.

Of course, monasticism is also not beyond this danger. It too can easily fall prey to an institutional condition in which the spirit is extinguished and grace is forgotten. Monasticism's distance from the world does however, create a relative security. The manner of life also serves as a relative guarantee. However, the most perfect security valves for the protection of monasticism and its revitalization during critical conditions are the humble hermits, with their unrestricted and uncompromising charismatic life. In any case, from these hermits sprang the organized forms of monasticism, the sketes, and the cenobitic communities. In this way, the hermits are the pillars of monasticism, and especially of Orthodox monasticism. Their presence gathers and develops the charismatic nuclei of the monks while it simultaneously nourishes wider circles of faithful who are in the world.

It is acknowledged that the lack of communication with the world develops in the hermits greater spiritual nearness to all people. The real hermit is one who fits into his heart the whole world. The farther one is from his fellow man, the more genuine the spiritual closeness he maintains with them. For this reason even the most remote hermits are the most mankind-loving fathers. This explains the strong attraction which the ascetics of the wilderness have exerted and continue to exert on multitudes of faithful.

The fourth reason, which contributes in a more general way to the revival of Hagiorite monasticism, but which simultaneously comes as a result of its revival, is the restoration of communication between the lay faithful and the monks. This communication was uninterrupted and self-evident in the history of Orthodoxy. The cenobitic community of monks was the ideal of community life for all the Orthodox faithful. For this reason the cenobitic spirit characterized not only the monastic, but also the lay life of the Orthodox. The hidden or manifest scorn for monasticism which developed in modern Greek society naturally led to the interruption of this communication. Consequently, during a period of spiritual abatement, monasteries—attempting to defend and champion themselves—emphasized the negative elements in society and stressed their own differentiation. Thus a chasm was created between the monks and the laymen, which was previously unknown in Orthodox tradition. That phenomenon resulted in depriving the social and ecclesiastical life of the Church of the lifegiving breath of the monastic spirit.

For the past few years, though, a timid, but I think essential, dialogue has again started. Of course, the negative atmosphere which developed over so many years is difficult to correct. But on the other hand, the harmonious relationship which existed for so many centuries is not easily forgotten either. The Greek Orthodox collective conscience, even in its

secularized state, is sealed with memories which can easily return to sight and can restore the balance in the face of turmoil and disorder. The Holy Mountain, which epitomizes Orthodox monasticism and which to this day supports its life on these memories, is the best counselor for our own selves and for our society. Moreover, we cannot truly know our society nor become conscious of our identity, if we do not become acquainted with the Holy Mountain. There our community and our own selves are transfigured, despite human weaknesses, which can also exist there. For this reason the solution of many of our social problems is to be found on the Holy Mountain.

This communication with the Holy Mountain becomes even more imperative with Greece's entrance into wider international circles. The strengths and capabilities of the Greek people are not to be found in material means or in technology, but in its tradition and spiritual heritage. With these the Greek nation can maintain its identity in wider horizons which are opening up before it. Moreover, these spiritual treasures can be Greece's contribution to the contemporary world, which so greatly needs them. The Holy Mountain which symbolizes and incarnates these values already sends out messages of life. It assures us of its universal character by the people themselves who embrace its life. By the perspectives which it offers in its quiet, remote dwellings, it provides solutions which would seem impossible according to common thought. The new blossoming of monasticism on the Holy Mountain is therefore the most important spiritual event which is presently taking place in Greece. What the future has in store, we naturally cannot foresee. What we can say, though, is that the threatened disappearance of the monasticism of the Holy Mountain, which just a few years ago seemed so immediate, has ceased, at least temporarily, and that its future development is expected to be particularly important not only for the religious and community life of the Greek Orthodox faithful, but also for Orthodoxy as a whole.

Translated from the Greek by Ioanna Buttlar Clarke

Table Showing the Population of the Monasteries of Mount Athos

	1959	1965	1968	1971	1972	1974	1976	1978	1980
Great Lavra	459	467	406	378	380	351	355	348	325
Vatopedi	129	101	83	74	71	70	65	60	54
Iviron	101	78	68	57	54	64	63	62	52
Chilandariou	63	59	55	54	57	61	64	69	43
Dionisiou	53	45	40	42	42	36	37	35	54
Koutloumousiou	107	81	68	57	61	45	61	66	57
Pantokratoros	118	102	84	76	79	76	71	63	63
Xiropotamou	43	32	36	30	30	27	26	22	47
Zographou	21	12	15	11	12	10	9	13	11
Dochiariou	29	19	16	16	14	14	13	11	32
Karakallou	42	36	30	30	28	35	16	13	18
Philotheou	44	38	36	24	28	54	80	81	63
Simonos Petras	27	21	18	27	23	70	59	61	60
St. Paul	115	122	111	96	95	98	91	87	81
Stavronikita	35	23	26	31	37	33	35	43	40
Xenophontos	66	53	43	38	37	37	26	39	41
Gregoriou	53	39	34	30	22	38	40	57	63
Esphigmenou	46	31	25	33	38	48	49	41	35
Panteleimonos	61	33	27	24	22	18	29	30	30
Konstamonitou	29	26	17	17	16	15	17	16	22
Total	1,641	1,491	1,238	1,145	1,146	1,200	1,206	1,217	1,191

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IOANNES N. KARMIRIS

NATIONALISM IN THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

The subject of this study, 'Nationalism in the Orthodox Church,'¹ has its beginning in the apostolic period, where the first weak manifestations of nationalism can be discerned. These first manifestations of nationalism found their way into Christianity principally through Jewish Christians, as well as through Gentile Christians representing a wide variety of peoples and nations. National concerns emerged in the Church of Christ as the result and expression of national spirit, character, and temperament and sometimes as the political expression of Christian peoples—determined in every place by the ethnic, linguistic, political, sociological, and specific peculiarities of the respective peoples. During

1 Related to the topic of nationalism are articles written forty years ago by three professors of the Theological School of the University of Athens: Bratsiotis, "Κράτος, Ἔθνος, Ἐκκλησία," articles in the periodicals *Ἀνάπλασις* 49 (1936) 53ff; and *Ἐκκλησία* 14 (1936) 71ff, 97ff, 125ff; Balanos, in *Ἐκκλησία* 14 (1936) 73ff, 91ff, 114ff, as in his study *Πολιτεία καὶ Ἐκκλησία* (Athens, 1920), and a similar study in the Academy of Athens in *Πρακτικά* 13 (1938) 208ff; Alivizatos, in *Ἐκκλησία* 14 (1936) 111ff, and 15 (1937) 83ff, 98ff, as well as in *Procès - Verbaux du Premier Congrès de Théologie Orthodoxe à Athènes* (1936) (Athens, 1939), pp. 284ff, in *Επιστημονική Ἐπετηρίδι τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Ἀθηνῶν 1936-1937*, pp. 68ff, as well as his study *Ἐκκλησία καὶ Πολιτεία ἐξ ἐπόψεως ὀρθοδόξου* (Athens, 1936). For further articles see: Iezekiel Velanidiotes, *Ἐκκλησία καὶ Πολιτεία* (Athens, 1906); K. Dyounouniotos, *Σχέσις Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Πολιτείας* (Athens, 1936); C. Androutsos, *Ἐκκλησία καὶ Πολιτεία ἐξ ἐπόψεως ὀρθοδόξου* (Athens, 1920); A. Alivizatos - S. Zankow, "Kirche und Staat," in *Procès - Verbaux*, pp. 370-99; S. Zankow, "Nation, Staat, Welt und Kirche," in *Orthodoxen Osten als theologisches Problem* (Sofia, 1937); by the same author, "Kirche und Nation im Orthodoxen Osten," in *Die Kirche und das Staatsproblem in der Gegenwart* (Genf, 1935), pp. 207-13, published by Συμβουλίου Πρακτικοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ, by whom was published *Kirche, Staat und Mensch, Russisch - Orthodoxen Studien* (1937), J. Oldham (ed.); the report of the conference at Oxford, July 1937, on "Church, Community, and State" (London, 1937); N. Milasch, *Τό ἐκκλησιαστικόν δίκαιον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens, 1906); P. Panayiotakos, *Ἐκκλησία καὶ Πολιτεία ἀνά τοὺς αἰῶνας* (Athens, 1939); P. Poulitsa, *Σχέσις Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Πολιτείας, ἰδίᾳ ἐπὶ ἐκλογῆς ἐπισκόπου* (Athens, 1946); E. Peterson, "Das Problem des Nationalismus im alten Christentum," in *Theol. Zeitschrift* 7 (1951) 81-91; F. Heiler, "Katholizität und Nationalität," in *Hochkirche* 14 (1932) 177ff; A. Demf, *Volk und Völder im Gottesreich* (Augsburg, 1932); E. Shilito, *Nationalism, Man's Other Religion* (London, 1932); W. Künneth and H. Schreiner, (Hrsg.) *Die Nation vor Gott* (Berlin, 1934); W.A. Visser 't Hooft, *The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem* (Paris, 1954); K. Bouratidos, *Σχέσις Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Πολιτείας ἐν Ἑλλάδι*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1965); C. Yiannaras, "Ἡ ἀπόφασις de oecumenismo καὶ ὁ ἐθνικισμός τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας," *Σύνορον* 38 (1966) 105ff; Ioannes Karmiris, *Συμβολή ἐς τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς σχέσεως Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Πολιτείας ἐξ ἐπόψεως ὀρθοδόξου* (Athens, 1972).

the ancient period we witness eruptions of ecclesiastical nationalism among the Christian Greeks, Latins, Arabs, and others; subsequently among the Russians,² the Bulgarians,³ the Romanians,⁴ and then more recently to a greater degree by the Greek, Arab, and other Orthodox peoples.⁵ Nationalism, or phyletism, however, was manifested more intensely and for a greater period of time among those who detached themselves from the ancient Church, especially the Armenians, Coptics, Jacobites, and several other monophysite and dyophysite peoples. During the modern period, certain local churches were characterized as 'national,' first in the West, and then afterwards in the East. Also, it was during this period that these churches were given the designation 'autocephalous.' In the West, a number of churches which temporarily assumed a certain Gallicized or Febronian form were characterized as 'national,' as were various subsequent Protestant churches and confessions. So, too, in the East a number of Orthodox Churches were in a similarly transient fashion influenced by a type of 'ethnoracism' which, "because of racial traditions and linguistic peculiarities, resulted in the rupture and dismemberment of the one, catholic Church of Christ into recognizable pieces and sections," as the Ecumenical Patriarch Ioakeim III wrote in a letter to the Orthodox Churches in 1904.⁶ In addition, it is known that the nationalistic sentiments of the Greeks and the Latins played a significant role in the eruption and completion of the great ecclesiastical schism between Old and New Rome during the tenth and eleventh centuries. This tendency unfortunately continued afterwards, especially during the times of the Crusades, with the Latin states in the East, the papal Uniates, etc.

But here we will limit ourselves only to the Orthodox Church of the East, into which was introduced the "spirit of nationalism, both strange

2 G. Papamichael, *Ἡ ἀνθελληνική μονορροδοξία τῶν Ῥώσων τοῦ ιε' αἰῶνος καὶ Μάξιμος ὁ Γραϊκός* (Athens, 1950), pp. 286ff; N. Moschopoulos, "Πανολαβισμός," *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, vol. 19, p. 548; G. Konidares, *Ἡ ἄρσις τοῦ Βουλγαρικοῦ σχίσματος* (Athens, 1971), pp. 40ff.

3 Archbishop of Athens Chrysanthos, "Τό Βουλγαρικὸν σχίσμα" (reprinted from *Πολιτική Ἐπιθεώρησις* 12 (1945)); G. Konidares, *ibid.*; F. Vafeides, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἱστορία* (Alexandria, 1928), vol. 3, part 2, pp. 154ff; V.K. Stephanides, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἱστορία* (Athens, 1948), pp. 663ff.

4 Vafeides, p. 194.

5 "There is an analogy between the Arab question of the other Orthodox patriarchates and the Bulgarian question of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. There appeared in the Patriarchate of Antioch from the middle of the nineteenth century an awakening of the Arabic speaking Orthodox natives of Syria.... In the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the question of the Arabic speaking peoples was precipitated after the Bulgarian schism.... The question of the Arabic speaking Orthodox was not absent in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, but it did not cause great unrest." See Stephanides, pp. 683-84.

6 See Ioannes Karmiris, *Τά Δογματικά καὶ συμβολικά μνημεῖα τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* (Graz, 1968), 2, p. 1040.

and foreign to the Church" during its earliest years, according to this same Patriarch, Ioakeim III.⁷ Consequently, the Church was compelled synodically to condemn this "strange and foreign spirit," capable of having a catastrophic effect on the unity and catholicity of the Orthodox Church, and on her indispensable and inseparable attributes, expressed most perfectly in the Holy Eucharist. In fact, certain local Orthodox Churches have unfortunately at times been induced into unadulterated nationalism and racism, having temporarily been attached beyond all necessity to their own nations and states. At times they have become involuntary instruments of the chauvinistic pursuits of their respective nations, that is, "the servants of worldly goals and political programs,"⁸ —in violation of the fundamental, theoretical, and canonical principles of Orthodoxy, which reject racial and ethnic discrimination.⁹ Later on, this matter occupied the Orthodox Church much more intensely, particularly as a result of the excessive nationalism exhibited by the Bulgarian Church, as expressed during the past century. Because of this reason, a local synod was held in Constantinople in 1872, which "censured and condemned *phyletism* (i.e., excessive nationalism and national disputes, dissensions, and pursuits) in the Church of Christ as being opposed to the teaching of the Gospel and to the holy canons." More specifically, this local synod judged the Bulgarian nationalistic claims to be directly opposed to canons 8 and 15 of the First Ecumenical Synod, 2 of the Second Ecumenical Synod, 5 of the Fourth, 14 and 15 of the Synod of the Holy Apostles, as well as others,¹⁰ and in general opposed to Orthodox ecclesiology. For, according to ecclesiology, each bishop is the head of each local church. He together with his flock, which is gathered around him, comprises the fullness of the body of Christ which becomes more evident in the celebration of the mystery of the Holy Eucharist. With this presupposition in mind, the synod characterized "phyletism as foreign and hostile vis-à-vis both the evangelical teaching and the eternal providence of the Church of God."¹¹ Therefore, there can be no doubt that the characterization of a specific local Orthodox Church as 'national,' on the basis of this type of nationalism and racism, is especially opposed to the meaning of the unity and catholicity of the Church, as well as to her other theoretical and canonical principles. Consequently, nationalism and racism have rightly

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 See also P. Bratsiotēs' articles in *Ἀνάπ' αἰς* 49 (1936), 53, 57; and *Ἐκκλησία* 14 (1936), 82-83.

10 G. Ralles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν Κανόνων* (Athens, 1852), 2, pp. 133, 145, 169, 229.

11 D. Kalliphronos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἐπιθεώρησις, περίοδος Β'* (Constantinople, 1873), 4, pp. 97-172. Ioannes Karmiris, 2, pp. 1014-15.

been characterized as heretical, and therefore to be absolutely rejected.¹² For it is not permitted for the one, catholic, universal, and eternal Church to be equated with small, local, 'national' churches—geographically limited and excessively influenced by the culture, language, native prejudice, and customs of the various peoples and races of the earth, serving at times small and temporary political and civil interests which are dictated by the nationalism and chauvinism of their own respective peoples and states.

Thus, the Orthodox Church, accepting the catholicity and essential unity of the Church—the body of Christ according to internal fabric, construction, identity, and continuity with the primitive Apostolic Church—rejects both excessive nationalism and racial distinction within the local churches of the various nations. Insofar as Christianity is both an ecumenical and universal religion, likewise the Christian Church is 'catholic,' that is, at the same time ecumenical and universal, its mission applying to all people. The God-man, the leader of Christianity and founder of the Church, commanded His disciples and apostles to "go therefore and make disciples of all nations" (Mt 28.19), and to "go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation" (Mk 16.15). In this manner was proclaimed "this gospel of the kingdom which will be preached throughout the whole world, as a testimony to all nations" (Mt 24.14) and "in the whole world" (Mt 26.13 and Mk 13.11, 14.9), so that "the word of truth may be preached to all nations," and "that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations" (Lk 24.47) to the end, so that "the Gentiles are fellow heirs, members of the same body, and partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus" (Eph 3.6).

It can be seen from these scriptural passages that the Church of Christ addresses and offers salvation to all nations without national, racial, or any other distinction, considering all as equal, and all human beings as creatures and children of God, "who desires all men to be saved" (1 Tim 2.4): all men, all peoples, races tongues, and nations without discrimination, whom "God first visited, to take out of them a people for his name" (Acts 15.14). Because of this fact, without any racial or national distinction, there were formed under the apostles the first established churches, composed of both Jews and Gentiles, in cities such as Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesos, Rome, Corinth, etc., from which were formed the subsequent Orthodox patriarchates and autocephalous churches. These churches are usually named after the chief city or the country of their region, and not after the national origin of the faithful who belong to them. The latter, bound together, are subject to the canonical bishops of their respective geographically determined districts, independent of their national origin, race, or language. Ancient

¹² See also Vladimir Lossky, *Κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ*, trans. M. Michaelides (Thessalonike, 1974), pp. 175-76.

ecclesiastical practice and history teach this, witnessing to the establishment not of national, but of local, or provincial churches, within fixed, determined historical or political geographic boundaries, since "the ecclesiastical usually conform to the civil boundaries."¹³ For this reason, at the local Orthodox Synod of Constantinople held in 1872, it was stressed that the "Church of Greece, of Russia, of Serbia, of Wallachia and Moldavia, which are improperly named Greek, Russian, Serbian, etc., are autocephalous or semi-independent churches; in their domain they are autonomous or semi-independent, having certain, fixed limits, those of the civil state...constituted not by reason of nationality, but rather by political situation or condition...."¹⁴ Generally speaking, there are no elect, or chosen nations and peoples distinct from the others who appear to be of lesser significance. The incidental national differences which exist between nations, which are due not to organic but rather external and historical factors, have only a relative significance for universal, Christian brotherhood, and do not establish an absolute criterion of the racial differences of men and peoples.

Therefore, so-called nationalism, or phyletism, must be judged to be condemned as the expression of the nationalistic spirit and character, and of the chauvinistic pursuits of the different peoples. Also, according to the aforesaid local synod, phyletism is "the formation in a specific area of particular, racial churches, all accepting their own kind, and all rejecting those not belonging to their nation, governable only by shepherds of their own race."¹⁵ Thus phyletism is unknown to and irreconcilable with the teaching, tradition, and canonical order of the Orthodox Church. As a result, the excessive nationalism of the local churches—that is, those churches wrongly characterized as 'national'—is forbidden. Their excessive attachment to the 'chariot' of their respective nations and states, and their chauvinistic compliance with the political pursuits of their respective nations and states are entirely irreconcilable with the spirit of the Gospel, given that the Church is 'one' and 'catholic,' and at the same time universal and eternal, not limited by the boundaries of time and space. Consequently, nationalism is antithetical to the

13 See canons 17 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod, 38 of the Penthekte, in G. Ralles and M. Potles, 2, pp. 258, 392.

14 M. Gedeon, *Ἐγγραφα πατριαρχικά καί συνοδικά περί τοῦ Βουλγαρικοῦ ζητήματος (1852-1873)* (Constantinople, 1908), p. 407.

15 Ibid. p. 405. Today the term racism is usually employed with a political connotation, as was defined by the fourth general meeting of the World Council of Churches (Upsala, 1968): "By racism we mean ethnocentric pride in one's own racial group and preference for the distinctive characteristics of that group; belief that these characteristics are fundamentally biological in nature and are thus transmitted to succeeding generations; strong negative feelings towards other groups who do not share these characteristics, coupled with the thrust to discriminate against and exclude the out-group from full participation in the life of the community." *Ecumenical Review* 26 (1974) 672.

Orthodox dogmatic teaching concerning the unity of the Church in her internal fabric, construction, and identity. Nationalism severs this unity and leads to schism, about which Saint Chrysostom wrote, "neither blood nor martyrdom is capable of washing away the sin," because "nothing irritates God more than for the Church to be divided."¹⁶ And finally, phyletism is opposed to the catholicity, ecumenicity, and universality of the Church of Christ, which extends throughout all the world and all time, and whose character and ecumenical mission is supernatural and supertemporal.

For these reasons the Orthodox Church condemns excessive nationalism, racism, and racial distinction in general, since the Church of Christ "is not of this world" (Jn 18.36), but rather is of divine origin, nature, and mission. As a result, the Church is neither defined nor essentially influenced by the various nations, peoples, and races of the earth—although wrongly identified with certain of these—but rather is catholic and universal, with a supernatural character, ecumenical, belonging to all mankind, in whom "there is neither Jew nor Greek," barbarian nor Scythian," but rather "all are one in Christ Jesus (Gal 3.28; Col 3.11; Eph 2.14; and Rom 11.12). The Church is the single, unique, catholic body of Christ, which is "not divided," a spiritual body, whole, indivisible, eternal, governed by Christ himself. The Holy Scriptures teach the unity of mankind. Christ, who "is all, and in all" (Col 3.11), abolished national discrimination between peoples.

The local Orthodox Churches must not forget that "no one can serve two masters" (Mt 6.24), and that "we must obey God rather than men" (Acts 5.29). Consequently, it is not possible to serve God and the temporal ruler, but only and exclusively God. Of course it is to the benefit of the churches to "render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's," but before and beyond all it is to their greatest benefit to "render to God the things that are God's" (Mt 22.21), faithfully serving the redemptive will and work of God. Thus, on the one hand they must teach the faithful to "be subject to the governing authorities" (Rom 13.1), and to make "supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings...for kings and all who are in high position" (1 Tim 2.1-2). On the other hand, however, they must not become "the servants of men" (1 Cor 3.23) and of the anti-evangelical and unlawful designs of the rulers of the different nations, especially since "the world passes away, and the lust of it" (1 Jn 2.17), whereas the Church remains throughout eternity, working for the salvation of mankind and the dissemination of the kingdom of God on earth, whose beginning and presence is comprised of by the Church herself. The now extant kingdom of God comprises the eschatological dimension of the Church, that which refers to her essence.

Thus, without doubt the provincial and nationalistic spirit and the

¹⁶ *Πρός Ἐφεσούς*, Homily 11.4, PG 62:85

racial discrimination of certain churches wrongly and unacceptably characterized as 'national' is incompatible with the catholicity and unity of the Church. Instead, it is necessary for these churches to live by the power of the Holy Spirit in the absolute unity and catholicity of the one, catholic Church, the body of Christ, and in the mystical communion of the fullness of the life in God, taking into account that the Church is chiefly life in Christ and a community of both love and unity in freedom, whose members are obliged to live in unity, catholicity, and brotherly love as members of the one body of Christ. As it has already been said, the Orthodox Church always condemned excessive nationalism, as it also disapproved of secularism and, in general, every clearly secular and political mixing and tendency toward "worldly affairs,"¹⁷ that is, toward "the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them" (Mt 4.8), not succumbing to the Lord's third temptation as did the church of Rome.

From the above it can be gathered that nationalism, and indeed super-nationalism, are in general irreconcilable with the essence of the Church, and with her spiritual and theanthropic character. More especially nationalism is irreconcilable with the Church's catholicity, ontological unity, and lasting communion between the various local Orthodox Churches, which are obligated to express their catholicity within the unity and equality of faith, worship, governing organization, and canonical order based on the holy canons, and the apostolic succession of bishops, and in the conceptual framework of the Orthodox synodical system, "eager to maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, one body and one Spirit" (Eph 4.3).

In saying these things we must in no way underrate the great significance and mission of the nation and the state, toward whom the Church must have a relationship akin to that of the soul toward the body. The Church recognizes this. It maintains a positive stance and relationship with the state, and pursues as its policy one that guides all people, nations, and states toward God, and unites, transfigures, and transforms them all into one "people of God," since all have similarly been called by God to salvation, and all are "one in Christ Jesus." The Church seeks to accomplish this while rejecting the nationalistic exclusiveness of any so-called superior people. Consequently, the relationship between the Church on the one hand, and the national states on the other, must be analogous to this process, clearly a process of coexistence, exchange, harmonious collaboration, reciprocal aid, interaction, and mutual influence. This relationship was determined long ago on the basis of the overall teaching of the New Testament in general, and more specifically on the basis of four of its classical texts, which possess the eternal

17 Apostolic canons 81 and 83, 3 of the Fourth Synod, and others, in G. Ralles and M. Potles, 2, pp. 104, 105, 220.

authority and regulative worth and power of the relationship between Church and state. These are: the memorable commandment of the divine founder of the Church, "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (Mt 22.21). Similar are the words of the Apostle Peter, "We must obey God rather than men" (Acts 5.29); of Paul, "Let every person be subject to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God" (Rom 13.1); and the thirteenth chapter of the Apocalypse of the Evangelist John.

The reciprocal relationship between the Church and the state was defined on the basis of the New Testament teaching stated above, according to which both are considered to be self-sufficient and independent principles apart from all others, and as a result must neither be amalgamated nor equated; nor should they be completely separated, mutually subjugated, or mutually oppressed through the disharmonious interference of one into the *interna corporis* of the other. On the contrary, while maintaining their independence and autonomy, it is necessary for them to pursue agreement in all things, to work together harmoniously, and to help promote each other in mutual respect. Each has need of the assistance and reinforcement of the other. The state is in need of the spiritual power and aid of the Church, and the Church is in need of the material power and aid of the state. The sphere of activity of both are not completely separated from each other; indeed, they often-times coincide. The members of each are the same individuals who make up both of these two distinct institutions. Belonging to both, as Christians they heed the command of the Lord to render "to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (Mt 22.21). The issue is concerned, therefore, with two different and independent organizations. The one is theanthropic and autonomous, based upon divine, unchangeable, and eternal law. The other is purely human, based upon empirical, temporal, and transient law. Indeed, just as the state is autonomous and independent, governed by its own constitution, so, too, the Church is autonomous and independent, governed by her own constitution comprised of the holy canons. Thus both walk together as two intergral principles and authorities, freely self-regulated according to the internal life and unique constitutional basis of each, and not allowing either excessive union, or enslavement of any local church to the state.

In order to understand this better, it is also necessary to take into account that these two independent and complete institutions are different according to the nature, mission, and methodology by which they attain their respective goals. Thus, the Church on the one hand is a metaphysical institution, whose foundation and mission were determined once and forever by her divine founder, eternally without change, and unto the salvation of mankind; the state on the other hand is a natural,

man-made institution, subject to changes according to the free volition of those who comprise it, and in pursuit of the internal and external peace, and material well-being of its members. Therefore, the goal and mission of the Church lies in the area of the metaphysical life of man, while that of the state and the race in the area of man's physical life. Both employ means toward attainment of their respective goals which can be either similar or different from each other. In this way the circle of activity and competence of each is different, and consequently, it is possible to avoid every confusion, mutual interference, and enslavement between the two, since the Church is confined solely to the ecclesiastical, and the state solely to the political, both confined 'within home boundaries.' This state of affairs must always be enforced in conjunction with the teaching of the holy Fathers who accept the idea that "just as political well-being is synonymous with the good conduct of political leaders, so too is the ecclesiastical situation synonymous with the good conduct of the Church's shepherds and teachers."¹⁸

It is to be noted that the perception of the above system of relations between Church and state, developed in the Byzantine Empire which accepted the Christian eschatological perspective of the kingdom of God, is considered by many Orthodox to be the best suited for themselves, especially because of historical and contemporary exigencies. Yet, while with certain peoples the separation of Church and state prevails, as is the case with those states which are characterized as either secular, or multi-religious, or communist, there nevertheless continues a strong alternative stance in which Orthodoxy is recongized as a predominant, or official religion. This is true of certain Orthodox peoples, like the Greeks and others. The former group, however, who insist on separation of Church and state, can maintain this relationship on the basis of relative neutrality, more or less, of the religious convictions of their citizens, and at the same time by guaranteeing freedom of religious consciousness and freedom of worship. Unfortunately, these guarantees do not exist in the Communist states whose governments officially profess atheism and are generally antagonistic toward religion. In these cases, the Orthodox Churches each and every time must regulate their relations analagous with the kingdoms of this world, in which they find themselves politically separated, and yet working independently and freely apart from them for the prevalence of the kingdom of God in the world. In regard to the last few systems mentioned, it would be better for us to limit ourselves to nations of the free world, those, of course, in which Orthodoxy is the faith of the majority of the population, and in which the government is favorably disposed toward the Orthodox faith, as for example is the case in Greece. In Greece, by virtue of the new Constitution of 1975, the

18 John of Damascus, *Πρός τοὺς διαβάλλοντας τὰς ἁγίας εἰκόνας*, 3.12, PG 94:1296-97.

Orthodox Church is recognized as the predominant or official religion, and as a result has been granted the freedom of self-government, based upon the holy, apostolic and synodal canons, and holy traditions, as well as upon the traditional system of reciprocity. This recognition is nevertheless combined with a tendency toward the system of separation of Church and state. This separation, however, is not judged to be beneficial by either, taking into account, of course, the close historical and spiritual ties which exist between the two, and which are deeply rooted in the soul of the Orthodox Greek people.¹⁹

In the instance, therefore, of the application of this latter, or similar such system, it is evident that the local Orthodox Churches existing in the various Orthodox nations and states have a mission to care for the religious needs of the faithful, to serve their Orthodox peoples, to walk together with them, and in general to practice every possible virtue in order to influence them toward righteousness. The churches must do this, however, without becoming completely identified or amalgamated with the people. They must not become servants, or exploited instruments used for the political pursuits of the nations, which oftentimes are opposed to the law of the evangelical ethic. They must not become attached to the chariot of the nations, nor be ruled over by excessive nationalism, to the point where the one, indivisible, catholic Church is confused and identified with colonies and countries of the nations. The holy work of the churches is thus harmed, and the catholic consciousness of the Church weakened. Neither is it allowed, as was said previously, to speak about a 'national' Orthodox church, as for example of Greece, or of Russia, or of Romania, but rather it is proper to speak only of the one, united, and indivisible Orthodox Church in Greece, or in Russia, or in Romania, far removed from every nationalistic and disruptive tendency.

The Orthodox Church, however, does not reject well-intended, healthy national sentiments, which exist and operate within the framework of the unity and catholicity of the Church, and which are defined and limited by it. Neither does the Church overlook the value of civilization, which the various nations and peoples provide, and within which the Church carries out her holy apostleship in accordance with the will and command of her divine founder and leader (Mt 28.19-20), following the example of the apostles, and especially that of the great Apostle to the Gentiles. Hence the Church always takes into account the political peculiarities and other ethnic differences of the various peoples, and proclaims to each in his own language the mystery of salvation. Thus, it is

¹⁹ See also the specific decisions concerning the relations between Church and state, as they are developed out of the spirit and letter of the 3rd article of the new constitution, in *Εκκλησία* 52 (1975), 300-18; A. Basdekis, "Between Partnership and Separation: Relations between Church and State in Greece under the Constitution of 9 June 1975," in *Ecumenical Review* 29 (1977) 52-61.

possible for every people to freely worship God in their own language, and to recognize the special role which each local church can play in the universal mission of Orthodoxy. Orthodoxy, however, must remain entirely free and independent of the forms, priorities, and spiritual traditions of the various peoples and states, gradually realizing the kingdom of God on earth, until the fullness of time, and the kingdom's total eschatological realization. Similarly, the Orthodox Church recognizes, as aforesaid, all nations as equivalent and equal in honor, and all peoples as equal in brotherly affiliation, considering none as higher or as chosen or as an elect people of God.

It is also known that Orthodoxy is readily adapted to the self-recommendation, the way of thinking, and the customs of various peoples, if these do not oppose her dogmatic and ethical teaching. The Church always cares for and promotes the virtue of a state's political makeup, and at the same time is obliged to maintain whole the unity of faith and spirit in Orthodoxy, and to remain unaltered everywhere and in every time. Indeed, the adaptive power and capability of Orthodoxy is great with respect to the coexistence, sanctification, and uplifting of the national life-style peculiar to Orthodox peoples in particular, and with respect to her redemptive influence on the faithful in general. The faithful are surrounded with love to the point where they consider the Orthodox Church both their mother and their own personal Church. They find in her bosom true motherly love and protection, which in fact she has always shown toward them, especially during the well-known, critical, historical periods of national danger and trial. During these times, the Orthodox Church has assumed leadership roles, and has energetically participated in the national struggle for the defence, salvation, and liberation of her peoples, thus contributing effectively to the restoration of the nation.²⁰ Similarly, in time of peace, the Church has offered great services and inestimable counsel to the evolution and development of civilization. She has concerned herself with the general progress and prosperity of her Orthodox peoples, always walking together with them and confronting their problems as problems of her own. Thus, penetrating deeply into their national life, the Church cultivates and sanctifies the faithful, always positively, or rather maternally disposed toward Orthodox nations and peoples, over whom she has shown herself to be a loving guardian,²¹ and a force both unifying and creative. This force cultivates the self-awareness of the faithful, and it develops their talents,

20 See also K.A. Tsatsos (President of Greece, Academician), *Ὀμίλες 1975-1976* (Athens, 1977), p. 56: "The nation and Orthodox Church together have marched as strong, sisterly powers. Heroically they have fought together, and in mutual solidarity and interdependence, they have been victorious. Many decades of travelling together have endorsed this sure fact."

21 See also A. Alivizatos, in *Ἐκκλησία* 15 (1937) 100, and *Procès - Verbaux du Premier Congrès de Théologie Orthodoxe à Athènes*, pp. 47-48.

capabilities, and cultural level. In this way, Orthodoxy has become a great regenerative power, religious, and ethical of the Orthodox peoples and nations. It exercises a profound influence upon them, and in addition, it acts as a great cohesive bond among them, thereby creating common aspirations, sentiments, and customs which provide unity and harmony for the Orthodox nations, which the tower of Babel separated.²²

Generally speaking, the history of the local Orthodox Churches bears witness to the fact that because they have been so closely intertwined with the birth, life, and the tradition of Orthodox states and peoples, and because they have been so closely bound to their national existence, they at times have been abusively characterized by some as 'nationalistic churches.'²³ However, they are not so in the unacceptably chauvinistic sense which has already been revealed and censured above. Their existence in some places became tolerable because of the need to confront local ecclesiastical problems and needs, and also for the development of special talents in certain specific areas of the Church. This was permissible only insofar as the intent was not to deviate or fall away from the straight path of the catholicity, living tradition, and unity of the Orthodox Church, above and beyond national boundaries, ideological oppositions, and racial, linguistic, and cultural distinctions.

In summary, we repeat that the local autocephalous Orthodox Churches in no way are permitted, under the influence of nationalistic spirit, to sever and divide the single, unique body of Christ, which of course can never be 'divided.' Nor can His Church, as His body, be divided, but instead always remains undivided and indivisible, as it was during the Apostolic period, when the local churches, or 'colonies,' were Jerusalem, Antioch, Phillippi, Corinth, Rome, and others, who were all characterized as, and indeed were, 'catholic' churches, united around the common table of the Holy Eucharist, and expressing their faith "in one, catholic Church." We must keep in mind that the essence, catholicity, and unity of the Church is realized in liturgical time and space, and that it is also in this sphere that the reality of the mystical body of Christ is expressed. This applies of course to the contemporary autocephalous Orthodox churches, (especially on the basis of canon 34 of the Apostolic Canons, 17 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod, and 38 of the Penthekte Synod),²⁴ which, in spite of their own administrative independence—which is nonetheless subject to the Pan-Orthodox Synod—possess dogmatic, liturgical, and canonical unity. They live in unbroken unity, communion, and love through their common Orthodox faith, worship, and episcopal-synodal self-government, and tradition entirely in

22 *Πεντηκοστήριον* (Athens: 'Αποστολική Διακονία, 1959), pp. 202ff; Dt 32.8.

23 See, for example, D. Balanos, "Εκκλησία καὶ Ἔθνος," in *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 13 (1938) 212ff.

24 G. Ralles and M. Potles, 2, pp. 45, 258, 392.

the mystical unity of the one, Orthodox, Catholic Church, and through her in the fullness of the grace and life of God, which she received through Christ in the Holy Spirit. Consequently, canonical 'autocephalous status' does not remove or upset the unity of Orthodoxy, or of the local churches that comprise Orthodoxy, under the direction of the Holy Spirit,²⁵ since this unity is not excessively influenced by nationalism.

In conclusion, it is necessary to add that the nationalistic and inappropriate autocephalous spirit must not be permitted to be fostered in the so-called 'Orthodox diaspora' living in certain non-Orthodox countries in Europe and America, i.e., the system which has appeared for over the last fifty years which allows for the coexistence of a plurality of Orthodox bishops of different nationalities (Greek, Albanian, Syrian, Serbian, Russian, etc.), whose jurisdictions parallel each other over the same areas. This situation was tolerable only in the beginning for a limited, transitional period, but unfortunately has been preserved until today. With the disappearance now of the majority of those who insist upon this anti-canonical system—a scandal indeed—there is presently an imperative need for the Pan-Orthodox Synod now in preparation, to proceed to reorganize the 'Orthodox diaspora,' thereby restoring the unity of episcopal jurisdiction according to the holy canons, and at the same time preserving the multiplicity of nationalities. Indeed, in 1976, both the 'Second Congress of Orthodox Theological Scholars' and the 'First Pre-Synodal Pan-Orthodox Conference' occupied themselves with these topics—nationalism, autocephaly, Orthodox diaspora—which were designated as topics for the upcoming Pan-Orthodox Synod which will concern itself with the 'Orthodox diaspora' and the "contribution of the local Orthodox churches toward the removal of racial discrimination."²⁶

The final conclusion of all that has been discussed is that the narrow bond between the local churches and the various nations can in no way be permitted to exist at the expense of the metaphysical unity and catholicity of the Church, which is directed to all peoples, independent of race and nationality, and to all persons of the same Heavenly Father, who "desires all men to be saved" (1 Tim 2.4), for whom the Savior "is the expiation for our sins...of the whole world" (1 Jn 2.2), who commanded the Apostles to "go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation" (Mk 16.15), "to gather into one the children of God who are scattered abroad" (Jn 11.52), and "to unite all things in him"

25 This applies more or less today to the autocephalous Orthodox Churches. But it is necessary to say that their autocephaly, from the beginning of their schism, presented in practice strong disadvantages, of which the primary one was that of nationalism. These gradually subsided, and some of them have either completely disappeared or have a tendency to disappear. Also, relative to this, see A. Alivizatos, in *Procès - Verbaux du Premier Congrès de Théologie Orthodoxe*, pp. 42-43.

26 *Ἐκτίκησης* 7, No. 158 (1976) 3.

(Eph 1.10), because God “made from one bloodline every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth...that they should seek God, in the hope that they might feel after him and find him,” as Paul the Apostle taught on the Areopagos (Acts 17.26-27).

Translated from the Greek by Steven P. Zorzos

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Finally, this reviewer would have appreciated a sociological treatment of the phenomena that Tourniac describes. This sociological aspect could have been pursued profitably as an alternative or corrective, but not as a contradiction, to the author's basic thesis. Isolation as a sociological phenomenon has a theological corollary in that small and dissident Christian communities do not have the corrective of continuing intercourse with mainstream ecclesiastical life. It is this factor which, for the Orthodox theologian, will be seen to be as important in any modern union negotiations as is the initial disagreement on the person of Jesus in the synodal debates.

The book would be a valuable asset to any theological library as long as it is read for its unique development of the "connections" among the Nestorian, Monophysites, crusaders, and the religious systems of the Middle and Far East. Tourniac has collected a great deal of fascinating information which will make great reading for the specialist in either Church history, theology or the occult. The professional scholar will, however, be frustrated by the almost complete lack of footnotes, especially for the sources of several extensive in-text quotations.

John L. Boojamra
St. Vladimir's Seminary

Offenbarung und Überlieferung: neue Möglichkeiten eines Dialogs zwischen der orthodoxen und der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche. By Viorel Mehedintu. (Forschungen zur systematischen u. ökumenischen Theologie; Bd. 40) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1980. Pp. 352. Paperbound.

In Romania an Orthodox-Lutheran dialogue has been in progress for thirty years; similar meetings have been held in various other countries including the United States, and talks on an international level have now begun. This book by a Romanian scholar, "Revelation and Tradition: New Possibilities of a Dialogue between the Orthodox and Evangelical-Lutheran Church," is intended to be of service in improving mutual understanding, not only in the area inhabited by professional theologians, but also in a wider field. Perhaps one day a courageous and competent translator will put it into English (and perhaps Romanian), where it will be very useful, although the Orthodox who attempts a first passage through the thickets of modern Teutonic theology will be in for some surprises. A very different frame of mind is evident here.

The book is divided into three main parts, the first of which deals with Revelation in its various aspects: historical, personal, and continuative. With the aid of copious citations from the works of modern German theologians, we consider the Jesus of history and the Christ of the

kerygma. This leads into a discussion of word and sacrament in Evangelical theology, and of sacrament and word in Orthodox theology. There is a world of difference in emphasis and understanding. To the Evangelical it is the authority of the word that validates the sacrament; to the Orthodox it is the authority of the Church that validates both sacrament and word. This section ends by contrasting the meaning of Revelation in the personal life of the individual from the point of view of Evangelical and Orthodox theology.

Part Two of the study is devoted to tradition, first as understood in Evangelical theology, from Luther, Melancthon, Chemnitz, and Gerhard, down through the modern theologians. The author emphasizes the fact that Luther, in challenging the Roman practice of including usages and customs in tradition, reverted to the ancient creeds: Apostolic, Nicaean, and Athanasian, and to the Church Fathers. They were valid, not because the Church gave them authority, but because they were supported by Scripture. Modern Evangelical theologians recognize the fact that the authority of Scripture cannot stand without the support of tradition. After this first section devoted to the Evangelical view, the author examines the Orthodox view of tradition as set forth from the Fathers down to recent times. This wide-ranging study quotes a host of authorities on both sides: Barth, Bonhoeffer, Bornkamm, Brunner, Bultmann, Ebeling, and Schlink, as well as stalwarts of an earlier age such as v. Harnack and Ritschl; for the Orthodox we meet Androutsos, Bratsiotis, Nissiotis and Trepelas, Florovsky, Lossky, and Uspensky, and among contemporary scholars Bebis, Constantelos, Meyendorff, and Schmemann, and a number of others whose names have appeared in the pages of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*. The study was done at the Ecumenical Institute in Heidelberg, and the author acknowledges his debt to Professor E. Schlink, founder of the Institute who directed the work, and to his Romanian professorial guide, Dr. D. Staniloae of Bucharest, whose outstanding work in the field of Orthodox theology is well known to scholars.

Part Three of the book is entitled "Ecumenical Perspectives," and goes back to the exchange of letters between the Tübingen theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II at the time of the sixteenth century reformation as a historical background. The Patriarch found out in the course of the exchanges that the mind of the Church, as he understood it, and that of the reformers was too far apart to make possible a continuation of the correspondence, and he asked that it be discontinued. The ultimate question in all such discussions is "What is the Church?"; and it is therefore understandable why ecumenical dialogues take so long to traverse the centuries, digressing along different paths. The author is hopeful for the future. He foresees that the one-sided emphasis on the Word in Evangelical theology will be augmented by fresh attention to the place of the Church in the sacramental life of the people. The work ends with a

summation of agreements as well as differences which remain to be resolved.

The body of the text is very well printed, with a few slipups (e.g. p. 117, line 18, 'Ressurrection' for 'Resurrection'; and p. 159, line 30: 'Homoonsios' for 'homouosios'). However, citations in footnotes and in the Bibliographical Register are less fortunate; here misspellings abound: p. 125, n. 65; p. 217, n. 2; p. 218, n. 6; p. 226, s. v. Evdokimov, fifth entry; p. 350, s. v. Meyendorff. The age of patient and accurate nineteenth century typesetters is a century past, and typographical composition of any book with citations in several languages poses problems. However, no scholar with sufficient background to be able to read this book with understanding will be apt to be misled by these minor but numerous errors and unfortunate flaws in an otherwise good product.

Stephen H. R. Upson
Rochester, New York

For the Health of Body and Soul. By Stanley Harakas. Holy Cross Orthodox Press: Brookline, Mass., 1980. Pp. 48. Paperbound, \$1.95.

Father Stanley Harakas, for many years the dean of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, and professor of Ethics, has written this short study as a "first effort at providing a comprehensive Orthodox ethical teaching on bioethical questions" (p. 17). Actually, it is his contribution to the newly published *Encyclopedia of Bioethics*, plus an introduction he submits to the Church which, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, will have to determine its usefulness.

For this reviewer, the book's usefulness is self-evident and, if nothing else, Harakas deserves our thanks for taking us as far as he does. Anyone who is acquainted with Father Stanley knows from where he begins, i.e., where he is 'rooted'; he is a man of the Church, raised on her tradition and sacraments. But also, he is one who, coming out of this 'mind,' is not afraid to confront those sticky issues that we Orthodox have all too often either 'generalized' away, or simply have denied them to be our problems.

Do not be mistaken, however. This is no comprehensive view and the author reminds us of that. In fact, there is "no comprehensive literature from an Orthodox perspective on the subject" (p. 16). Nevertheless, this reviewer, upon completing the reading, realized that this is a source about which the Orthodox *can agree*. This miracle in itself still allows for the many 'ifs,' 'buts,' and 'sometimes,' which really have more to do with the nature of bioethical dilemmata, and not with a particular Orthodox perspective.

The point here is that the place where we can agree is the best starting

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GEORGE DRAGAS

ORTHODOX ECCLESIOLOGY IN OUTLINE

The Church and the Churches

Western Christians often speak of the Orthodox Churches, rather than the Orthodox Church. From the Orthodox perspective, the Church is one, even though she is manifested in many places. Orthodox ecclesiology operates with a plurality in unity and a unity in plurality. For Orthodoxy there is no 'either/or' between the one and the many. No attempt is made, or should be made, to subordinate the many to the one (the Roman Catholic model), nor the one to the many (the Protestant model). It is both canonically and theologically correct to speak of the Church and the churches, and vice versa. This is impossible for Roman Catholic ecclesiology because of the double papal claim for universal jurisdiction and infallibility. The same must be said of the Protestant ecclesiologies, which connect the notion of the Church with denominationalism, and which make a distinction between the one and the many in terms of the invisible and the visible Church. From an Orthodox perspective, the Church is both catholic and local, invisible and visible, one and many. To explain what lies behind this Orthodox ecclesiological unity in multiplicity, one has to deal with the Orthodox understanding of the nature of the Church.

The Church of the Triune God

The nature of the Church is to be understood as the Church of the Triune God. The Holy Trinity is the ultimate basis and source of the Church's existence and, as such, the Church is in the image and likeness of God. This being in the image and likeness of the blessed Trinity constitutes the mode of the Church's existence, which, in fact, reveals her nature. Being in God, the Church reflects on earth God's unity in Trinity. What is natural to God is given to the Church by grace.

The grace of the Trinity is the starting point for understanding the nature of the Church, and especially her unity in multiplicity, as the Holy Trinity shares one life and one being. The three distinct and unique persons are one in life and in nature. Similarly, the Church exhibits a parallel multiplicity of persons in unity of life and being. The difference between God and the Church is that, in the former, multiplicity in unity is the truth, whereas in the latter, this is only a participation in the truth. In patristic language the former is *οὐσία*, while the latter is *μετουσία*.

The unity of the three divine persons in life and being is, therefore, the prototype of the unity of the Church's persons in life and in being. As Christ himself says in His prayer for the Church: "even as Thou O Father are in me and me in Thee, so they may be one, that the world may believe that Thou has sent me." The mark of unity is collegiality and love, and not subordination. Orthodox Triadology, based on the grace of the Trinity, supplies the basic ontological categories for Orthodox ecclesiology. The Church is an *eikon* of the Holy Trinity, a participation in the grace of God.

The Church of Christ

How does the Church participate in God's mystery and grace? How is μετουσία Θεοῦ achieved? How does the Church become an *eikon* of the Holy Trinity? The answer, in its fullest form, is contained in the phrase "in and through Christ." Christ has established the bond between the image of the triune God, and that which is made after the image, namely, the Church, mankind. In Christ we have both the εἰκὼν and the κατ' εἰκόνα. Hence, we must say that the Church is the Church of the triune God as the Church of Christ. The link between the Holy Trinity and Christology, that is, between theology and economy, demands a similar link in ecclesiology. The Church is in the image of the triune God, and participates in the grace of the Trinity inasmuch as she is in Christ and partakes of His grace. The unity of persons in life and being cannot be achieved apart from this economy of Christ, and we here encounter what the New Testament calls the "body of Christ."

Christ is the head of the Church and she is His body. It is from this christological angle that we better understand the multiplicity in unity which exists in the Church. This angle of the body of Christ is normally connected with the divine Eucharist, because it is in the Eucharist that the body is revealed and realized. In the divine Eucharist we have the whole Christ, the head, and the body, the Church. But the Eucharist is celebrated in many places and among different groups of people. Does this then mean that there are many bodies of Christ? This is not the case because there is one head, and one eucharistic body (His very body which He took up in the Incarnation) into which all the groups of people in the different places are incorporated. It is the Lord himself who is manifested in many places, as He gives His one body to all, so that in partaking of it they may all become one with Him and with one another. "In that there is one bread, the many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread." The many places and the many groups of people where the eucharistic body of Christ is revealed do not constitute an obstacle to its unity. Indeed, to partake of this body in one place is to be united with Him who is not bound by place and, therefore, to be mystically (or "mysterially," or "sacramentally") united with all. This is how Saint

Athanasios explains the prayer of our Lord that the apostles may be one. "... because I am Thy Word, and I am also in them because of the body, and because of Thee the salvation of men is perfected in me, therefore, I ask that they also may become one, according to the body that is me and according to its perfection, that they, too, may become perfect having oneness with it, and having become one in it; that, as if all were carried by me, all may be one body and one spirit and may grow up unto a perfect man." And Saint Athanasios concludes: "For we all, partaking of the same, become one body, having the one Lord in ourselves." What is given in one specific place is something which also transcends it, because of its particular perfection, that is, its being Christ's risen body. The different eucharistic localities, with the eucharistic president (the bishop), the clergy, and the participants (the people) constitute or reveal the whole Church. It is a local church, and yet she reveals the catholic mystery of the one Church. The one Church of Christ is equally and fully in all these localities because of the one, perfect Eucharist, the one Lord and the one body. This equality of the presence of the one Christ in the local churches is the ground for what is often called "Orthodox eucharistic ecclesiology" and its logical implication, the autocephaly of the local diocese. Autocephaly goes hand-in-hand with the equality of the local bishops and churches, which is rooted in, and springs from, the equal share in the fullness of the great eucharistic sacrament. Autocephaly is not autonomy. It must be understood in terms of the equality of bishops, and the participation of all in the one body of Christ. It is their equality in grace which binds them to one another.

In Orthodox ecclesiology there is no difference in status between the bishop of a small place in Cappadocia and the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople. As eucharistic churches established upon the foundation of Jesus Christ, they are equal. This order of equality and its corollary, communion in the one body of Christ, pertains to the very nature of the Church, that is, it constitutes the ecclesiastical ontology. It is this order which gives rise to the hierarchical, or ecumenical, order (or order of seniority, *τά πρεσβεία*) which pertains to the historical structure of the Church. But there is no antimony between the order of equality and the order of seniority in Orthodox ecclesiology. Catholicity (the equality of the local churches as participants in the grace of Christ and the Holy Trinity) and ecumenicity (the order of seniority among the bishops as participants in the mission of the Church to the world in history) are not antipodes. From the Orthodox perspective, it is the development of such antipodes which have resulted in the historical divisions within Christendom. The Roman Catholic claim of universality and primacy on the one hand, and the Protestant claims of individual or local autonomy on the other, are, in fact, contradictions between catholicity and ecumenicity, since they claim that the integrity of the local churches of God is not guaranteed by their participation in the one grace of Christ and the Trini-

ty, but by their acceptance of one local church (the Church of Rome) and by one local bishop (the pope of Rome) as their absolute head. The Protestants, on the other hand, in their attempt to reclaim catholicity on the basis of the free grace of God in Christ, have ignored the historical order established by the catholic churches, and, as a result, have often confused the autocephaly of the local church with autonomy. The strength of the Orthodox vis-a-vis the other Christians is their fidelity to the mystery of the catholic Church, the body of Christ, as it has been established and manifested in history. The Orthodox alone have kept in their full integrity both the catholic mystery of the Eucharist, and in the ecumenical order of seniority among the catholic Churches (τά πρεσβεία) which springs out of the mystery of the Eucharist. This is why they claim to be the one Church of God, founded upon Christ, and keeping the historic canonical order of seniority which constitutes the Church's response to the challenges of history. The Orthodox believe that there is always room for development in the Church's historic response to the world, provided that it is consistent with the established canonical tradition, but they remain absolutely adamant on the essential belief of catholicity and unity.

The Church of the Trinity and the Church of Christ

Some theologians speak of Orthodox ecclesiology in terms of two models: the triadological and the christological. In fact, there are not two models, but one. The Church is both the Church of the Holy Trinity and the Church of Christ. It is true that only in Christ is the second person of the Holy Trinity incarnate. Yet, the entire fullness of the Godhead dwells in the body of the incarnate Son, as in a temple. This is clear from the teaching of the New Testament and from the teaching of the Fathers of the Church. Christology is inseparable from Triadology. No adequate doctrine of the Son can be developed without the Father. At the same time, the gift of the incarnate Son to humanity, both His incarnate presence and our incorporation into His body, are unthinkable without the Holy Spirit. It is true that Orthodox theologians have made different attempts to interpret this interpenetration of the trinitarian and the christological dimensions of Orthodox ecclesiology. Some, for instance, would see the work of Christ as referring to the unity of nature, and the work of the Spirit to the diversity of persons, whilst both Christ and the Spirit bring the whole of humanity, nature and persons under the monarchy of the Father. Others, however, would point to the biblical pattern of the revelation of the Trinity in salvation history and would see the beginning of the Church in the Father. They would also see in creation the establishment or revelation of the Church in history, in the Incarnation of the Son, and, finally, in the growth and perfection of the Church in

the economy of the Holy Spirit, which reaches its end in the final resurrection. This strictly biblical pattern seems to be closer to the ethos of the liturgical traditions of Orthodoxy, but the other model (which is more dogmatic and ontological) also seems to have its basis in the Church's mind concerning Christ the Lord. The triadological and christological dimensions cannot be divorced in Orthodox ecclesiology, because the Church is the Church of the Holy Trinity insofar as she is the Church of Christ, and vice versa.

The Church of the Fathers

The Orthodox Church is also the church of the Fathers. By Fathers, we mean the bishops, and those who preside over the Eucharist. That is, those who serve the mystery of the body of Christ to the local churches. Not everybody serves the mystery of Christ to the local church—not everybody celebrates the divine Eucharist, or performs the Christian sacraments of initiation and growth. In the first instance, it is the bishop who does this. The presbyters are his assistants, who participate in his episcopal function through the celebration of the Eucharist and through their ministry to the congregation of the local church. The bishop is the specific focus of the life and existence of the local church. He is the *eikon* of Christ for the whole diocese, not in a merely symbolic way, but in a real and living way. As Saint Ignatios said: “where the bishop is, there is Christ.” This patristic order of the local church was instituted by the Lord himself in the establishment of the holy apostolate, and was continued in the successors of the apostles, the bishops, and the presbyters. Whatever the questions about the historical origins and the precise way in which this order evolved, it is clear that its root is to be found in Christ and in the apostles. In the New Testament, as in the Old Testament, the patristic dimension of the Church is a *sine qua non*. Hence, we must speak of the Church as the church of the Fathers, as the Church was, indeed, founded upon the foundation of the apostles, Christ himself being the chief cornerstone. But it is in the Fathers that we have the maintenance of the apostolic heritage, as the Fathers maintain the integrity of the Church by keeping the apostolic faith and tradition. The dogmas of the Fathers, whether in their accredited writings, or in their local and ecumenical synodal decisions, have no other intention but to keep the truth which the Lord gave and the apostles preached. Orthodox dogmatics and doctrine are thoroughly apostolic and patristic. They are not abstract ideas divorced from the persons of the Fathers, the apostles and Christ. Doctrine is the expression of this unbroken line of existence which belongs to the very being of the Church. The guarantee of this unbroken line of holy tradition and existence is none other than the Holy Paraclete given by Christ himself to His Church, the Spirit of Life who grafts us all on to the one body of Christ and makes us reside in the

one truth.

In the Orthodox tradition all bishops and presbyters, and even deacons, are called Fathers, because they serve the mystery of Christ and, thus, give birth and food to all Christian existence. In other words, there is a three-fold patristic order in the local churches. As all local churches are equal, because they receive the same grace, so the three-fold local patristic dimensions is equal from one locality to another. The other titles, which relate to the order of seniority, and which normally imply certain prerogatives for the persons who bear them, are, in fact, secondary elements which relate to the Church's response to the world. Such prerogatives exist not only among bishops but also among presbyters and deacons. The supreme prerogative in the Orthodox tradition is that of the ecumenical patriarch, which was synodically and canonically given to the bishop of Constantinople, New Rome. Then the Orthodox observed a whole order of seniority which corresponded to the historic expansion of the Church in history. After the ecumenical patriarch the ancient patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and then the modern patriarchates, such as the Russian and the Serbian, as well as all the autocephalous churches, such as the Church of Cyprus and the Church of Greece, followed. Within these boundaries there has been a further extension to the order of seniority. Generally speaking, the order of *τά πρεσβεία* in the Orthodox Church, which finds its ultimate expression in the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople, reveals a harmony which has a natural evolution inasmuch as it follows the chronological pattern of the Church's history. A closer look, however, indicates that the basis for this pattern is not merely historical but also spiritual. It is, in fact, the sacred history, not divorced from the secular, that has imposed its own natural pattern of order. Had it been merely an external historic principle which determined the 'historic' evolution of the Orthodox order of seniority, this order would not have outlasted external changes. The order of seniority in the Orthodox Church has been kept, in spite of external changes in history, because the Church in history is like a family which grows and gives birth to new children. This is a holy family where the children do not reject the parents, the daughters do not forget the mothers, and the mothers do not neglect the distinctive charisms of their daughters. We may say then that the patristic dimension of the church, especially in its ecumenical structure, rests on the fact that the Church is like a family which grows in history from generation to generation, and from one people to another. The Fathers who have fallen asleep are, in fact, sleepless guardians of the Church. The Church in heaven is united with the Church on earth, and that which our Fathers have established on earth is binding for us because they are still alive. To keep company with them is to keep their work in our heart and practice. It is also to keep the historic perspective which is governed by the sacred history, and is rooted in the service or

diakonia of the great mystery of the body of Christ, the mystery of the divine *eikon* of the Holy Trinity reflected and realized in the life of mankind. The acceptance of the historic order of seniority, established by the Fathers of the Catholic Church, is the way in which Orthodox Christians make sure that merely external historic considerations do not determine the Church's response to history. The Church follows her Fathers who are not dead, but living, and who are praying for us and celebrating with us until the final consummation and renewal of all history.

The Church of the Saints or Those Who Are Called To Be Saints

In the Orthodox perspective of the Church there is no separation between the clergy and the laity. The clergy serves the laity, and both participate and grow in the fullness of Christ's body. The apostolic patristic order of ministry was established for the people so that all the people of God may receive the new gift, the forgiveness of sins and eternal life. There are many ways in which this relationship between clergy and people in the one body of Christ is realized and revealed in the Orthodox Church. Both the liturgy and the offices have distinctive parts for the clergy and the laity, but this also is the case in the dimension of the Church's witness, teaching, and general mission to the world. The monastic order, with its single devotion to prayer and to Christian perfection, is one of the most eloquent links between the manifestations of this inner unity of clergy and the people in the body of Christ. There are also other orders, such as the confessors and martyrs, or those who spend their lives serving the needs of the poor and the sick. The Orthodox Church, as the Church of the saints, is, in fact, the Church of the people of God. Here there is no tension between the shepherds and the flock. Those who minister, and those who are ministered to, pursue the same aim: participation in the grace of Christ and the Holy Trinity. The call to holiness binds them all into one Church. Whatever one's position in the Church on earth—clerical, ascetical, or lay—it is the one body of Christ and the one grace of the Holy Trinity that remain the central focus. Each person is appreciated fully as a person in his relation to this one body and to the one common life and witness. Everyone is called to be a saint and, as such, to serve the mystery of Christ. Therefore, everyone, whatever his place or capacity, will be equally asked to give an account of his response to this calling on the day of judgment. Hence, all Orthodox Christians pray together for "Christian ends to their lives, and a good apology before the judgment seat of Christ." The Church is holy, or called to be holy, and this is an essential characteristic of Orthodox ecclesiology.

Conclusion

What then is the Church in the Orthodox perspective. She is the Church

of the Triune God, the Church of Christ, the Church of the Fathers, the Church of the saints, and the Church of the people of God. She is the one holy, catholic and apostolic Church. Perhaps the best and clearest *eikon* of this manifold perspective of the Church is to be seen in the seal of the holy *prosphora*. Here we have the whole Church in focus in the personal, the historical, the theological, and the anthropological dimensions. Here we have unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity. Here we have the celebration of the whole mystery of the Church.

In summary, Orthodox ecclesiology is holistic and does not tolerate any arbitrary division between the one and the many. She is not tied to external uniformity or to pluriformity, but she is unity in multiplicity. As such, she asks all divided Christians who have tasted the power of God's goodness and grace to unite with her, because she does not seek her own glory, but the glory of the Lord and His saints as it has been and is still being communicated to us in history, that the world may be saved and renewed.

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ORTHODOXY AND CATHOLICISM: A NEW ATTEMPT AT DIALOGUE

The New Dialogue

A new attempt at official dialogue between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches began last year with a meeting of a special theological commission at Patmos and Rhodes. After a millenium of cultural and theological alienation, the first meeting of the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Theological Commission, 29 May–4 June 1980, which dealt with procedural issues and selected the theme of the mysteries or sacraments, seemed to many like a miracle.

In less than two decades four protagonists, Popes Paul VI and John Paul II on the one hand, and Ecumenical Patriarchs Athenagoras I and Demetrios I on the other, prepared the ground through what they called a "dialogue of love...in complete fidelity to the one Lord Jesus Christ."¹ These leaders, through mutual visits, exchange of letters, symbolic gestures, ecclesiastical initiatives, and joint statements seem to have reversed, at least officially, centuries of strife and polemics in two traditions in which people faced one another more frequently as rivals and enemies rather than friends and brothers.

The climax of the preparatory period came when Pope John Paul II and Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios I met in Constantinople, 29-30 November 1979, to announce a new phase of what may be called a "dialogue of truth"—formal theological dialogue through a mixed theological commission. In their joint statement the two church leaders announced the decision to begin formal dialogue the main purpose of which is "the re-establishment of full communion between the Catholic and Orthodox sister churches."² In unprecedented liturgical gestures Demetrios I was present when John Paul II celebrated Mass in the Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Holy Spirit in Constantinople and on the following day John Paul II was present when Demetrios I celebrated

* A keynote address delivered at a meeting of the National Association of Diocesan Ecumenical Officers of the Roman Catholic Church in the U.S.A., 5 May 1981, in Boston, Ma.

1 The 'Joint Statement' in the *Orthodox Observer*, 19 December 1979, p. 3, issued on the occasion of the 1979 visit of John Paul II to Constantinople. See also *Tomos Agapis: Vatican-Phanar (1958-1970)* (Rome, 1971), published in Greek and French. For a complete bibliography on this preparatory period for the dialogue, see Michael A. Fahey, "Orthodox Ecumenism and Theology: 1970-78," *Theological Studies* 39 (1978) 454-59. For an account that includes the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue in the U.S.A., see Edward J. Kilmarlin, *Toward Reunion: The Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches* (New York, 1979).

2 *Orthodox Observer*, p. 3. For an account of the visit, see Thomas Fitzgerald, "A New Phase in Orthodox-Roman Catholic Relations," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25 (1980) 119-30, and *Origins* 9:26, 13 December 1979.

the Eucharist in the Patriarchal Church of Saint George. In both instances Pope and Patriarch exchanged the kiss of peace but did not, of course, share in the Lord's Supper because of the existing division between the two Churches.

The Orthodox-Roman Catholic Theological Commission is comprised of some sixty top ecumenical officers and theological experts on both sides, including cardinals, metropolitans, bishops, and lay theologians. The Catholic membership is led by Cardinal Willebrands, head of the Vatican's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. The Orthodox membership is led by Archbishop Stylianos of Australia who represents the Church of Constantinople. According to Archbishop Stylianos, who spoke to a Greek Orthodox Conference in the United States in July 1980,³ this special commission created a sixteen-member coordinating committee which will meet annually and three working committees which will also meet annually. The entire commission will meet bi-annually. Cast in somewhat technical terms, the exact formulation of the commission's first theme according to Archbishop Stylianos is: "The mystery of the Church and the Eucharist in the light of the Blessed Trinity." The choice to discuss the Eucharist and the nature of the Church signals a prevalent desire among leaders on both sides to begin the dialogue by concentrating on areas of greatest agreement.

Prior to taking up its work, the new commission went on a spiritual pilgrimage to Patmos and then moved on to Rhodes for its working session due to the need for sufficient accommodations and for other technical reasons. Starting with Patmos, where according to tradition John the Disciple of Love and herald of Christ's truth composed the Book of Revelation, the commission underscored the basic presuppositions of the dialogue which is to be guided by an ecumenism of love and an ecumenism of truth. It also raised eschatological hopes concerning the future of this new dialogue which has tremendous implications not only for the Catholic and Orthodox Churches but also for all Christianity and perhaps as well for the entire human family.

Future Prospects

What are the hopes for the future? For all who take seriously Christ's will for Christian unity the hopes are for more miracles through fervent prayer and hard work. However, a realistic Orthodox view is to expect not so much a dramatic breakthrough especially in doctrinal matters but rather happy surprises about the extent of agreement in both theology and practice, while the two sides pray and search for ways to grapple with the central divisive issues. That this new modern dialogue has begun, and has begun in a spirit of mutual love and respect and largely

3 The writer was present and took notes. For Archbishop Stylianos' published text in Greek, see *Orthodox Observer*, 16 July 1980, pp. 17 and 19.

free of political pressures—factors never before present in the past millenium—is truly a miracle of God. But we are only at the beginning of an era which may take many decades, yes even many generations, for the fulfillment of the final goal of eucharistic communion as another miracle of God.

Not only for pastoral but also for theological reasons, it is wise to remember that there is a dialogue between officials and a dialogue between the people at large nurtured in the two traditions. This point is particularly sobering for the Orthodox who theologically hold to the primacy of the life of the Church. The failed attempts at reunion in Lyons (1274) and Florence (1438-1439) poignantly showed that official signatures by bishops to a formula of reunion mean little in the Orthodox world if the agreement is not perceived by the universal conscience of the Orthodox Church to be an authentic expression of Christian truth.

The deep historical consciousness of estrangement between Orthodoxy and Catholicism will not be healed in one or two decades no matter how quickly Church leaders and theologians may wish to move in the dialogue. It was just six years ago that the Orthodox Churches agreed to begin preparing for a formal dialogue with Rome and only seventeen years ago at the Pan-Orthodox Conference in Rhodes that they had officially refused to send observers to the third and final session of Vatican II.⁴ These past two decades of preparation for the dialogue were not without grave cautions, disagreements, and even opposition within the Orthodox world. The relations between the Church of Greece and Rome have been strained in recent years.⁵ Two of the representatives of the Church of Greece to the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Theological Commission have resigned, one of them reportedly giving as reasons "inadequate preparation on the Orthodox side, disagreement over the subject to be initially discussed, and the unresolved problem of Uniatism."⁶ The

4 Fahey, p. 455, interprets the action a bit too strongly as a "boycott." Perhaps the attitude of the Orthodox can be expressed with these words: "We are not ready for official contacts; let's wait and see." Fahey also makes reference to a somewhat aloof comment on the Orthodox official absence from Vatican II by Yves Congar stating that Orthodoxy missed a unique opportunity of ecumenism and charging that Orthodoxy "bears a very serious responsibility for that." Many Orthodox would take exception to this statement. After all, why should the Orthodox Churches have at that time expected anything new from or have been eager for official contacts with Rome when pressure-filled attempts at dialogue and reconciliation long ago virtually meant their being swallowed up by Rome?

5 For ecclesiastical and political reasons, the Church of Greece asked the Vatican not to fill the vacancy of the Latin bishopric in Athens and was not heeded. Also, the Greek government and the Vatican recently established diplomatic relations, which the Church of Greece regards as an affront to the Orthodox Church.

6 John S. Romanides, "The Theologian in the Service of the Church in Ecumenical Dialogue," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25 (1980), 145. For some of the inner dynamics of the Orthodox-Roman Catholic preparatory committee which disbanded in 1978, see *ibid.* pp. 143-45.

last point is a reference to Eastern Churches in communion with Rome, a sensitive issue between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches.

Another significant objection to the new dialogue on the Orthodox side came from the twenty monastic communities of Mount Athos which are influential in the Orthodox world. In an extraordinary double assembly,⁷ the representatives of the monasteries issued a sharply worded statement warning the Orthodox that the "Roman Catholics are preparing a union of a Uniate type" and proclaiming to the Orthodox that "the Holy Mountain...is not going to accept a *fait accompli*." Rigorous in spirit this statement upholds the Orthodox Church as the only true Church, denies ecclesial reality to all other Christian bodies which are viewed as heretical, objects to 'Uniates' in the Roman Catholic membership of the new theological commission as an affront to the Orthodox, and even cautions the Orthodox about participation in common prayer, and liturgical assemblies with other Christians prior to doctrinal agreement.

I have accented the above difficulties and objections in order to provide a balanced view of present attitudes to the dialogue in the Orthodox world. Despite these problems the new ecumenism of love is indeed viable because it has at least the cautious support of most Orthodox bishops, priests, theologians, and faithful and it will continue to grow in influence among the Orthodox barring any unwise acts by Church leaders. But the road ahead will be a long one: a millennial pattern of mistrust, misconceptions, and theological differences will not be unravelled and re-woven in a new pattern of love, understanding, and theological agreement in one decade or even in one generation. The period of dialogue will be a period of mutual growth. Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon well remarked at the Pan-Orthodox Conference of 1968 that unity is not a "mechanical event accomplished at a certain moment at the conclusion of specialized negotiations" but rather "unity appears in front of us as a profound, vital state that is gradually developed until it reaches its completion, that is, the confession of a common faith."⁸

The Role of Leadership

What are we to expect from our leadership? Given a wholistic and dynamic rather than static and formal view of the process of dialogue, we can expect our leadership to continue with persistent and courageous efforts at responsible dialogue in obedience to Christ's will. A top pri-

⁷ Comprised of the regular representatives, together with a special delegate from each monastery, usually the abbot. An English translation of the statement appeared in the *Orthodox Observer*, 8 October 1980.

⁸ *Proche Orient Chrétien*, 18 (1968) 361, cited by Cardinal Willebrands in his commentary on an exchange of letters between Paul VI and Athenagoras I in a release from Information Service (SPCU), August 1971, entitled *Relations with the Orthodox Churches*, p. 6.

ority is the building up of trust on all sides. To many watching eyes the dialogue would be discredited unless the dialogue of love and the dialogue of truth are intimately connected so that, as Archbishop Stylianos has stated, "neither truth may offend love, nor love may offend truth."⁹

Thus far popes, patriarchs, and other prelates have shown both inspirational and effective leadership gaining widespread support. At times Patriarch Athenagoras I of blessed memory, moved by Christian love, risked bold statements¹⁰ for the cause of unity which created apprehensions among other Orthodox church leaders, theologians, and faithful. In their joint statement of 1979, Pope John Paul II and Patriarch Demetrios I also spoke of their firm will "to hasten the day" of union, an expression which is premature for the Orthodox because it reminds them of failed "hasty" attempts at reunion in the past which the Orthodox perceived as detrimental to Christian truth and to their ecclesial freedom. It is best to proceed with and to use the language of balanced pace, and at the same time to be as open as possible in the dialogue, so that anxieties about something "being secretly planned" or something "being forced" are alleviated.

The Orthodox leadership in particular must continue to work toward a true consensus between the Orthodox Churches and Orthodox Christians themselves, such as in the instance of the composition of the Orthodox membership in the new theological commission, the expected position papers, and future new decisions or new steps regarding the dialogue. I do not see how a genuine Orthodox consensus can hold if representatives of the monastic communities of Mount Athos are not eventually invited to participate in the work of the theological commission. Consensus has for the Orthodox an indispensable theological value and is consequently extremely important because all the family members of the Orthodox Church participate in the dialogue by free conciliar choice and any one or more of the Orthodox Churches can pull out of it at any time the consensus seriously fails. When the Orthodox speak of official dialogue they mean exactly a dialogue officially approved by a consensus of the Orthodox Churches. The forthcoming Great and Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church,¹¹ now in a gradual process of preparation, will certainly

9 *Orthodox Observer*, 16 July 1980, p. 19, translated from the published Greek text.

10 In his published official correspondence with Paul VI, as for example, in his 21 March 1971 letter: "Actually, even if the Eastern Church and the Western Church are separated, for causes known to the Lord, they are not divided, however, in the substance of communion in the mystery of Jesus, God made man, and of his divine-human Church," Information Service release, p. 4.

11 *Towards the Great Council: Introductory Reports* (London, 1972); Fahey, pp. 451-54; Metropolitan Damaskinos of Tranoupolis, "Towards the Great and Holy Council: Part II," *Eastern Churches News Letter*, New Series 11 (Autumn, 1980) 37-46 and Stanley S. Harakas, *Something Stirring in World Orthodoxy* (Minneapolis, 1978).

help the strengthening of an Orthodox consensus, but it is not decisive to the ecumenical dialogue, at least not in the present, because the Pan-Orthodox conferences well serve the purpose of discussion of intra-Orthodox concerns on ecumenical matters.

Other helpful initiatives by our leaders among the prelates and participants in the new dialogue include various efforts within our churches to heighten our consciousness to two truths. First, the truth that division for a Christian is unacceptable because it is a tragedy, yes a sin against Christ, and that both sides bear responsibility for the existing deep separation. This is particularly needed among the Orthodox who do not readily acknowledge that they can be faulted in any way, if not for the historical causes of the separation, notably the schism of 1054 and the sack of Constantinople in 1204, at least for the deepening and widening of the rift through subsequent hatred and polemics. Secondly, the church leaders must also heighten our consciousness to the truth of not to expect any sudden capitulations or humiliations on one side or the other. Authentic dialogue, a dialogue of love, cannot be fostered by attitudes of rivalry, argument winning, confusing the other side, imposing demands and the like, but by attitudes of prayerful listening to one another, sensitive understanding of one another's true position, and willingness to break out of defensive positions to common ground insofar as truth allows. At the heart, then, what must be removed is the proselytizing intent of one side trying to convert the other by arguments or stratagems. Rather what is needed, together with honest and thorough discussion of the issues, is the spirit of prayer, patient love, and deep humility so that the truth itself may convert all to a common vision regarding essentials. That truth for Christians is Jesus Christ himself.

Key Challenges

What are the key challenges in this dialogue? As an Orthodox I perceive three kinds of challenges. The first is our profound estrangement which has both in the distant past and in more recent times, not without encouragement from episcopal leaders, theologians, and teachers themselves been expressed through words and acts of hatred, prejudice, misconception, trivialization, and even derision of each other's theology, practice, and piety. This challenge is already being met by the ecumenism of love. It is true that we have a long way to go. But I trust that the Lord will deliver us from this darkness of soul which permits Christians to quote Jesus' teaching on loving one's enemy and doing good to him, yet blinds them to their hostility for or indifference to their separated Christian brothers. He will deliver us, that is, if church leaders never cease proclaiming Christ's love, which alone can free Christians, so they may respect each other's ways of thinking and traditions while honestly disagreeing with some of them.

The second kind of challenge involving several points is more intractable but not insurmountable. For an Orthodox viewpoint, this kind of challenge has to do with basic spiritual attitudes toward Western Christianity in general and Roman Catholicism in particular, attitudes which have long been fostered among Orthodox Christians partly because of sensitivity to the importance of doctrine, partly because of devotion to the principle of tradition, and partly because of experience of ecclesiastical hurts in the past—and I am here thinking of Eastern Europe and the Middle East—which still hurt. For example there is an almost natural Orthodox triumphalism which holds that because Orthodoxy alone has maintained the fullness of Christian truth, the Orthodox are consequently right about everything and have essentially nothing to learn from westerners who are “innovators.”¹² This attitude can hopefully be cured by a more realistic view of history, by an appreciation of the fact that in the Orthodox tradition itself many non-dogmatic developments and changes have occurred and that not all change is in principle negative, and by taking seriously the fact of *legitimate* variety in the Christian tradition as regards liturgy, practice, art, piety, theological motifs, and other matters outside of the content of dogma.

Another example of this second kind of challenge is a rigorous interpretation of Western Churches in terms of the classic model of heresy which denies all ecclesial reality to Christian communions outside of the Orthodox Church which is, to use the words of the Creed, the “one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church.” This is a matter which Orthodox clerics and theologians understandably find difficult to discuss in formal meetings or in print, yet one which powerfully informs traditional Orthodoxy and, consequently, explains why a traditional Orthodox Christian is fearful of contact especially in common prayer and worship with ‘Roman Catholics’ and ‘Protestants.’ I suspect that this will quickly surface as a significant question for clarification in the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Theological Commission and among the Orthodox faithful especially in traditional Orthodox lands as soon as attention is drawn to it through scrutiny of commission statements.

In the absence of a formal ecumenical statement by the Orthodox Churches similar to the Decree on Ecumenism by Vatican II, the Orthodox may well find it extremely difficult, without risking a break up of their own consensus and their own unity, to clarify the above question even with regard to the Roman Catholic Church. Statements by Orthodox leaders which recognize the Roman Catholic sacraments are regarded by many Orthodox as individual opinions not necessarily reflecting the true position of Orthodoxy. Thus it may be possible that during the first phase of the actual dialogue substantial agreement may

12 And yet the Orthodox have learned and are learning much from Western Christians and scholars such as in the areas of patristic studies, biblical studies, church and society, and others, aside from many technical and methodological matters.

be reached on the sacraments in formal theological terms, and yet still be followed by an actual reluctance on the part of the Orthodox officially to recognize ecclesial reality in Roman Catholicism. The reason for this is that the Orthodox have traditionally worked out no positive theology concerning Christian bodies canonically separated from the Orthodox Church. No satisfactory solution has been offered to this problem on the grounds of Orthodox ecclesiology which intimately connects the Eucharist, right doctrine, and canonical bishop.¹³ However, such a solution or at least formal clarification is needed if the dialogue of love and the dialogue of truth are taken seriously. The Orthodox need to find a way to accept the principle that officially recognizing ecclesial reality in other Christian bodies neither is an affront to the Orthodox Church as the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, nor necessitates sacramental communion with them. Acceptance of this principle would then relieve the Orthodox position from the heavy burden of virtually denying that other people in this world are Christians.¹⁴

A final profoundly sensitive issue in this second kind of challenge is that of the Eastern Churches in communion with Rome or, to use traditional Orthodox language, the 'Uniate Churches.' These churches are a constant reminder of the painful experience of the whole spector of proselytism¹⁵ by Western missionaries in Orthodox Eastern Europe and the Orthodox Middle East during long periods of politico-cultural weakness when most of the Orthodox peoples there were under Islamic or Western subjugation. It is not meaningful to say that the Orthodox should not feel so deeply about this issue because they do feel deeply about it, not least for the reason that they are still suffering from the consequences of Western proselytism. At the same time, it is unrealistic for the Orthodox to expect that the Roman Catholic Church should suddenly dismantle these churches in the East for the sake of the new dialogue. Can a solu-

13 See, for example, Kallistos Ware, "Church and Eucharist, Communion and Intercommunion," *Sobernost* 7 (1978) 550-67. An interesting precedent is the case of the Oriental Churches separated from the Orthodox Church and regarded as heretical since the Fourth Ecumenical Synod (451) but now no longer regarded as heretical by some Orthodox theologians, although canonically still separated from Orthodoxy. Yet the crucial change of attitude among these theologians has occurred because, so they are convinced, the disputed difference over a christological formula is a matter of terminology rather than of substance. For the dialogue of the Orthodox and Oriental Churches, see *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 13 (1968) 125-320 and 16 (1971) 1-259.

14 The occasional Orthodox opinion that persons outside of the Orthodox Church are saved individually by God's choice and not by virtue of their ecclesial membership sounds sophistical because such persons come to know Christ through their community of faith, that is, through baptism, the Lord's Supper, and nurture in that community, and through no other means.

15 For periods of peace and periods of hardening of the lines, and the dynamics involved, see for example K. T. Ware, "Orthodox and Catholics in the Seventeenth Century: Schism or Intercommunion?" in *Studies in Church History, Volume 9, Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, ed. D. Baker (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 259-76.

tion be found? It would at least be helpful to many Orthodox if during the first phase of the dialogue Roman Catholic representatives from these churches do not officially participate in the work of the theological commission.

The above two kinds of challenges involving a variety of issues are fairly formidable but not insurmountable because they are attitudinal and ecclesiastical rather than purely doctrinal. Yet considerable progress in meeting the above kinds of challenges is probably necessary before trying to tackle the third kind of challenge involving the central divisive issues or even before other dramatic ecumenical acts or steps are taken such as on 7 December 1965 when Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras I lifted the formal mutual anathemas of 1054 pertaining to their Sees.¹⁶ A similar future act, after sufficient preparation, might be the celebration of Easter on a common date, a matter of tremendous implications for the Orthodox world,¹⁷ which would also require consultation with the other Western Churches.

The third and seemingly insurmountable kind of challenge involves the core divisive issues, namely, the *filioque* and the place of the pope in a reunited Christianity. These two issues loom so large in the historical and theological horizon of the Orthodox consciousness that an immediate resolution of them by a miracle of God would bring down all the other barriers. These are the issues which according to the Orthodox ultimately caused the schism and gradually separated the one faith community into two faith communities which, in their mutual relationships, came to regard construction of litanies of differences and complaints against one another as a high virtue. Would that these core issues be immediately approachable! In human terms they are insurmountable. Only God can make what is impossible possible when His Catholic and Orthodox peoples build up enormous trust between them on other issues.

The issue of the *filioque*, one would daringly say, may be the easier of the two to tackle because this formula was after all not part of the ancient Ecumenical Creed, but was offered by Augustine as a kind of theological speculation on the Creed,¹⁸ and the Orthodox have an

16 For the texts, see *Tomos Agapis* and *Be Reconciled to Your Brother: The Lifting of the Anathema of 1054 as a Step Toward Reconciliation* (New York, 1966). In a communiqué on the lifting of the anathemas, the Patriarchate of Constantinople has interpreted the action as "an affair between the two Churches of Rome and Constantinople" and that "now the schism has been abolished" and that "things thus [have] returned automatically to the state prior to 1054," although the two Churches have not yet come back to the common cup which "constitutes the final stage," Information Service release, p. 4. The prevailing view among the Orthodox is that the anathemas have been lifted but the state of division still exists.

17 Because the Orthodox Churches, aside from theological reasons, see their common celebration of Easter as a sign of their own unity. Further on this, see T. K. Ware, "A Common Easter—How Soon?" *Eastern Churches Review* 8 (1976) 79-81.

18 *De Trin.* 15.2, 5, 22-24 and 28.

acceptable interpretation of it. At heart the *filioque* need not be a decisive difference in dogma, because Western and Eastern Christians commonly confess the dogma of the Holy Trinity, but it is an important difference in the interpretation of the trinitarian dogma.¹⁹ What is decisive for Orthodox theology derived primarily from Athanasios and the Cappadocian Fathers is not the formula itself, which can be interpreted in an Orthodox manner, but the underlying doctrinal teaching about the living God in His eternal mode of being and in His revelation in creation, history, church, sacraments, and each Christian's personal communion with Him. Applied to God's revelation in time, the *filioque* can be interpreted in an Orthodox manner, but applied to God's eternal mode of existence—as the relevant articles of the Creed would clearly have it,²⁰ the *filioque* contradicts the intent of the Creed. But the intent of the Creed can 'exegetically' be derived only from the theological controversies of that time and the theological writings of the Church Fathers mentioned above who were immediately involved with them. Therefore, if Catholic and Orthodox theologians can agree on the patristic theology behind the First and Second Ecumenical Synods, it might be possible for them to find a new formula consistent both with the intent of the Creed and with the intent of the *filioque* in the context in which it later prevailed in the Western Church.

The place of the pope in a reunited Catholic Christianity is the most difficult of all issues because the role of the pope is definitive for Roman Catholicism. Whereas the Orthodox speak about the primacy of the life of the Church, to which even bishops and Ecumenical Synods are accountable,²¹ the Roman Catholics speak of the primacy of the pope whose authority is viewed to extend not only over bishops but also over entire Ecumenical Synods. In similar fashion, whereas Roman Catholics fundamentally conceive of unity as communion with a particular see, the Orthodox conceive of unity as communion not with a particular see, but

19 This is my conclusion in a position paper on the issue in *Concilium: Conflicts About the Holy Spirit*, ed. H. Küng and J. Moltmann (New York, 1979), pp. 23-30.

20 So also according to more and more Western scholars. See Dietrich Ritschl, "The History of the Filioque Controversy," in *Concilium: Conflicts About the Holy Spirit*, pp. 9-12 and K. Ware and C. Davey, eds., *Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue: The Moscow Agreed Statement* (London, 1977). In the latter dialogue, as it is known, the Anglicans agreed to drop the *filioque* clause from the universal creed for theological and canonical reasons, a decision that is extremely important to the Orthodox, but the Anglican Church has not acted firmly on the recommendation. A Roman Catholic theologian, Terrence R. O'Connor, "Homousios and Filioque: An Ecumenical Analogy," *Downside Review*, 83 (1965), 18-19, suggests the elimination of the *filioque* because it is not urgently necessary to the Creed as an expression of the catholic faith, as it was necessary in the context in which it originated, and also because it would be a significant ecumenical gesture toward the Orthodox.

21 See the excellent article by Kallistos Ware, "The Ecumenical Councils and the Conscience of the Church," in *Kanon: Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für das Recht der Ostkirchen*, 2 (Vienna, 1974) pp. 217-33.

with the full catholic consensus of the ancient undivided Church, doctrinally, sacramentally, and canonically as represented by the family of Orthodox Churches today in its conciliar unity and diversity.

If the issue of the role of the pope is viewed as a canonical matter, which is most proper according to Orthodox thinking, Orthodoxy based on legitimate ancient traditions could indeed accept a weighty interpretation of the primacy of the see of Rome as the leading and central see in word and teaching, a unifying center, and even an important, although not absolute, court of appeals for all Christendom.²² However, if the issue is viewed as a dogma, that is, in terms of a universal an infallible authority over and constitutive to the entire Church, then the Orthodox Churches have neither theological nor canonical categories to deal with such an absolute Roman primacy. Acceptance of it would simply mean the surrender of their apostolic and conciliar independence, as well as a fundamental redefinition of their theology of the episcopate, which are constitutive elements of Orthodoxy. Eventual discussion of this issue will require the presence of angels in the midst of the participants.

As a final word to the above issues it may be noted that on the basis of Vatican II's Decree on Ecumenism and Decree on the Eastern Churches in communion with Rome, the Catholic position toward Orthodoxy is enormously conducive to quick and immediate progress in the dialogue, the only thing lacking in the Orthodox Churches being communion with Rome. If the Orthodox Churches would be prepared to accept the primacy of the pope as presently interpreted by Rome, then they could retain everything else and even the power to govern themselves. From such a perspective Orthodox bishops and theologians can be made to feel a lot of brotherly pressure by their Roman Catholic counterparts, or can be made unwittingly to appear as inflexible, if the journey of reconciliation is not hastened. Already in Roman Catholic theology a tendency exists to co-opt Orthodox theologians into positions quite legitimate for Roman Catholic theologians and in the process to hug Orthodoxy into oblivion. However, the Orthodox Church has its own theology on the Trinity, church, episcopate, sacraments, and conciliar unity which can neither be co-opted nor allow differences on essentials as alternative interpretations to be accepted by the Roman Catholics but not necessarily by the Orthodox. To accept the latter as a working principle would imply a trivialization of the dialogue. Rather, the promise of the new attempt at dialogue lies in honoring these fundamental differences in theological positions and prayerfully grappling with them toward the mutual discovery of a consensus expressing the fullness of Christian truth, as the two sides maintain their deep commitment to a dialogue of love and

22 See again Kallistos Ware, "Primacy, Collegiality, and the People of God," in *Orthodoxy: Life and Freedom*, ed., A. J. Philippou (Oxford, 1973), pp. 116-29 and Demetrios Constantelos, "Lumen Gentium: Concern Over Collegiality: An Eastern Orthodox Theologian's Assessment," *Emmanuel* 85 (1979) 533-37.

truth.

Local Ecumenism

What is needed on the part of each Christian and local ecumenical officer to further dialogue and cooperation between Orthodox and Roman Catholic believers locally? The first need on each Christian's part is a growing new life in Christ. Believe in the power of God, in the power of prayer, and in the power of conversion of the heart to Jesus Christ. The formidable obstacles that lie ahead in the international Catholic-Orthodox dialogue will not simply be resolved by experts in theological tournaments or by prelates through ecclesiastical agreements. The most urgent and continuous need for all of us is to view and to interpret the work of responsible ecumenism as the work of Christ in our midst. It is His "to equip the saints for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ, until we all attain to the unity of the faith" (Eph 4.12-13).

The goal set before us is best served when Orthodox and Catholic believers deepen their life of faith within their own local parishes and when they respect the ecumenical guidelines formulated by one another's churches. United with Christ and prayerfully sustaining the fresh edge of a personal life with Him, Catholic and Orthodox Christians will be given by the Lord both the genuine concern and enabling power to seek one another out properly, to create Christian fellowship with each other, and to build up a common life in Christ. It has been my experience, too, that without authentic spiritual renewal the sacred challenge of Christian unity is but another obligation or a once-a-year meeting. The words of First Peter call out to all of us: "Come to him, to that living stone...and like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house" (1 Pet 2.4-5).

With this faith vision Christians can foster a true ecumenical spirit first of all in the concrete setting of their own parishes by making sure that their ways of speaking about other Christians, as well as their teaching aids, are not only informed and fair but also brotherly and caring. In the local Orthodox parishes there is a petition heard in Eucharist after Eucharist: "Let us pray to the Lord for the peace of the world, the stability of the holy churches of God and for the union of all!" Surely this petition can apply locally to our dialogue and cooperation. Through prayer we must re-examine our attitudes toward one another and make the necessary changes at all levels of parish life.

Secondly, in order to become knowledgeable and truly caring about each other, ecumenical officers and other motivated Christians in local parishes must reach out for contact and fellowship with Christians of other churches. According to my limited experience, mixed Bible study groups, timely ecumenical prayer services, together with effective talks, parish conferences or seminars, occasional participation in Catholic marriage encounters by Orthodox Christians, various shared ministries to

others, and the like, are extremely valuable. In such cases Catholic and Orthodox Christians may come together not to debate one another's positions or try to resolve the differences between their churches, but rather to build up their faith and life in Christ, to share what can be shared, to learn more about the views and traditions of one another, and together to serve cases of urgent need.

In the United States the task is to overcome indifference and to discover spiritual motivation for local ecumenical sharing. With regard to earnest ecumenical work, Orthodox Christians have much to learn from the example of Roman Catholic Christians. In other parts of the world, where Orthodox and Roman Catholics have long encountered one another as rivals and competitors, feelings of mistrust and prejudice run high. We need to pray for them and also to ask them to pray for us. According to the call of our church leaders, Catholic and Orthodox Christians everywhere in their local parishes must in their own way contribute to the dialogue of love and truth in obedience to Christ.

In an unusually irenic disputation between Anselm of Havelberg and Niketas of Nicomedia in 1136, Anselm "compared himself and Niketas with the two disciples walking along the road to Emmaus. Just as those first disciples recognized the Lord in the breaking of bread, so he and Niketas would recognize the truth in their analysis of Scripture."²³ The renewed journey of Catholicism and Orthodoxy in our times may be a long one as well. But let our hearts unceasingly burn with the love of the Lord who accompanies us so that our journey together, however long, may not again be interrupted.

²³ Norman Russell, "Anselm of Havelberg and the Union of Churches," *Sobornost* 1 (1979) 25.

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The author concludes with a quotation from his teacher, H.-G. Beck, characterizing the era of Mavropous which, translated, reads: "The political theology of the Byzantines had exalted the office of the emperor to, certainly, an unbearable degree... Rhetoric followed most faithfully the example of this political metaphysics or, rather, of this political ideology."

Daniel Sahas
University of Waterloo

The Philokalia: A Review Article. By Theodore Stylianopoulos.

When E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer published the first English translation of the *Philokalia* in two volumes,¹ a condensed version of Theophan's Russian translation, they expressed the hope that one day a new translation of the entire Greek original might be made available to English readers as "the only final solution to the problem of making the treasure contained in the *Philokalia* available to the West in a form as rich and as wisely balanced as the original."² After a quarter of a century, this hope is now being fulfilled with the appearance of *The Philokalia: The Complete Text Compiled by St. Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St. Makarios of Corinth*, Volume 1, translated from the Greek and edited by G. E. H. Palmer, Philip Sherrard, and Kallistos Ware (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1979), pp. 378, hard-bound, \$34.00. My purpose in this brief article is to review this first volume of the new English *Philokalia* and also to offer some broad remarks about the legacy of the *Philokalia* in the Orthodox tradition.

The *Philokalia* (literally meaning the love of the good and the beautiful) is a collection of patristic writings on the spiritual life, its purpose and goals, principles and characteristics, temptations and struggles, joys and rewards. But the essence of the *Philokalia* involves more than a collection of writings: it is a way of life, a way of prayer, a way of personal communion with God which cannot be limited to any edition of writings.³ In both of these aspects, the historical-literary as well as the theological-spiritual, the *Philokalia* is fundamentally rooted in the Bible from which it draws not only key descriptions of what is a life pleasing to God, but also a zealous concern about practicing a righteous life before God. One has only to think of the book of Psalms to call to mind the per-

1 *Writings from the Philokalia on Prayer of the Heart* (London [1951]) and *Early Fathers from the Philokalia* (London [1954]).

2 *The Philokalia: The Complete Text*, cited above in the text, p. 13.

3 Marcel Pirard, "Le Starec Paisij Veličkovskij (1722-1794): La Tradition philologico-ascétique en Russie et en Europe orientale," *Messenger de l'Exarchat du Patriarche Russe en Europe Occidentale* 81-82 (January-June 1973), 46, n. 47.

sonal dimensions of biblical religious life: the soul's yearning for God, intimate prayers of trust, devotion, and confession, the darkness of separation from God because of sin, calls for help, deliverance, and renewal, and expressions of joy, thanksgiving, and doxology. Similarly, the Wisdom books represent a rich tradition of meditations on the true way of life, ethical instructions, and the acquisition of insight, discretion, and wisdom by means of both a vigilant heart and the practice of righteousness.⁴ Finally, the teachings of Jesus and the ethical exhortations of the apostles in the New Testament serve as the normative focus of the meaning and practice of Christian life, understood as the new eschatological life in Christ and lived by the power of the Holy Spirit.

The central role of the Bible in the writings of the early Christian Fathers, the folkloristic literature which grew around the Desert Fathers, and the works of learned ecclesiastical writers and Church Fathers such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Athanasios, the Cappadocians, Chrysostom, Isaak the Syrian and many others, is clearly evident. Although the literature on the Desert Fathers remains close to the biblical modes of practical concerns, simplicity of teaching, and innocence of narrative, the significant differences and new achievements which may be found in the meditative writings of the learned Christian authors are elaboration of biblical teachings into themes, analysis of various insights, and systematization of thought toward a comprehensive Christian world view. Thus, for example, whereas the biblical authors and Desert Fathers give us, for the most part, exhortations on being obedient, faithful, humble, repentant, prayerful, and practitioners of what we preach, the learned Christian authors provide us with small discourses or entire treatises on obedience, faith, humility, repentance, prayer, and the nature of Christian life as practice (*praxis*) and spiritual vision (*theoria*). The basic building blocks, principles, and goals remain biblical; but the style, mode of thought, and language are significantly qualified by models of Greek philosophy and *paideia*, that is, by those models which are, at any rate, viewed as congenial to Christian life and thought. The classic spirituality of the ancient Christian tradition thus represents a permanent fusion of the biblical concern about a life of righteousness before God and the Greek ideal of a life of virtue (*arete*), Christ himself being the primary model and chief educator of Christian souls according to Christian writers. Already by the time of Origen this fusion occurs in high, if also ambiguous, measure. Significantly, the first *Philokalia* compiled by the Cappadocian Fathers was a collection of excerpts from the writings of Origen.⁵

4 For example, see Book of Proverbs, chap. four.

5 Origène, *Philocalie 21-27: Sur le livre Arbitre, Introduction*, texte, traduction et notes, ed. Éric Junod, in *Sources Chrétiennes*, vol. 226 (Les Éditions du Cerf, 1976); É. Junod, "Remarques sur la composition de la Philocalie d'Origène par Basile de Césarée et Grégoire de Nazianze," *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses* 52 (1972), 149-56; J. A. Robinson, *The Philocalia of Origen* (Cambridge, 1893), and G. Lewis, *The Philocalia of Origen* (Edinburgh, 1911).

The rise of monastic centers of which the fundamental purpose was none other than the practice of the evangelical virtues taught by Christ and the apostles favored a continued focus on the life of Christian obedience and prayer, a focus which not only included significant use of the Psalms, Wisdom books, New Testament books, and earlier patristic writings, but also generated over many centuries tens upon tens of writings on the spiritual life composed by monks and intended primarily for monks. This tradition continues to live in Orthodox monasteries in various parts of the world, especially the Holy Mountain, and also continues to nourish the lives of many men and women outside of the walls of monasteries. It was from this stream of writings that the second collection of the *Philokalia* was compiled in the eighteenth century by Nikodemos Hagioreites (1749-1809) and his older contemporary Makarios Notaras (1731-1805). First published in Venice (1782), this collection of writings, together with additional texts by Patriarch Kallistos, appeared in a second edition in Athens (1893). A third edition is now in circulation published more recently in five volumes by Aster Publishing Company (Athens, 1957-1963). This last edition provides the basic Greek original for the new English *Philokalia* to be completed likewise in five volumes.

The editors of the new English *Philokalia* ask: "What first determined the choice of texts made by Saint Nikodimos (*sic*) and Saint Makarios, and gives them their cohesion?"⁶ Regarding this question, two important facts should be noted which are not mentioned by the editors. First, the majority of these texts, when discovered, already existed as a collection in one or two manuscripts of the Vatopedi Monastery on the Holy Mountain. A. Tachiaos has identified these manuscripts as Vatopedi MS 605 (thirteenth century) and Vatopedi MS 262 (fifteenth century).⁷ One is not surprised to find previous interest in such a collection of texts in monastic circles which in the first place copied these writings and preserved them for posterity. Second, Saint Makarios played a much more important role than is usually recognized both in the discovery, as well as in the publication of these texts according to the firsthand witness of Paisii Velichkovski (1722-1794), the well-known compiler and translator of the Slavonic *Philokalia*.⁸ Saint Makarios not only had for years been searching for unpublished patristic works in the monasteries of the Holy Mountain when he discovered the Vatopedi treasure, but was also instrumental in finding the financial resources for the first edition of

6 *The Philokalia*, p. 13.

7 'Α. Ταχιάου, 'Ο Παῖσιος Βελιτσόφσκι καὶ ἡ ἀσκητικοφιλογικὴ Σχολή του (Thessalonike, 1964), p. 111, note 1. For this and also the following references in n. 8 I am thankful to Marcel Pirard who made them available to me during a visit at Stavroniketa Monastery on the Holy Mountain in May 1981.

8 In a letter to one of his disciples, Paisii Velichkovski gives the earliest reference to the *Philokalia* in the following interesting witness: "The Most Reverend Kyr Makarios, former

the *Philokalia*. According to Tachiaos,⁹ Saint Makarios already had the *Philokalia* collection in hand when he met Saint Nikodemos on the Holy Mountain and asked him to take the burden of its editing, a burden of considerable magnitude. As an editor, Saint Nikodemos added an interesting prologue to the *Philokalia* extolling its value for monks and lay people alike, and also included brief biographical notes on the authors of the various texts appearing in the *Philokalia*. Whereas the Greek editions of the *Philokalia* omit the names of Saint Nikodemos and Saint Makarios from the title pages probably because of a tradition of monastic modesty, the new English *Philokalia* properly mentions both in recognition of their equally important contributions in bringing the *Philokalia* to the light of print.

The editors of the new English *Philokalia* give a brief account of the Slavonic and Russian translations of the *Philokalia* by Paisii Velichkovskii, Ignatii Brianchaninov (1807-1867) and Theophan the Recluse (1815-1894) which were reprinted many times in various places.¹⁰ They also make reference to the Romanian and to a French translation based on the original Greek. Appearing under the editorship of Dumitru Staniloae, the Romanian *Philokalia* includes five volumes so far (since 1946) and three more are expected. It is not stated whether, as in the case

Metropolitan of Corinth, acquired from his youth, by God's action, such an unutterable love for the patristic books which teach of sobriety and heedfulness of mind, and silence and mental prayer—that is, the prayer performed by the mind in the heart—that he has spent his whole life in the most fervent seeking out of them and in copying them out with his own hand, since he is most skilled in outward learning, and in having them copied out at great expense by the hand of calligraphers. He came to the Holy Mountain of Athos and found in all the libraries of the holy monasteries, through his unfathomable fervor and great striving, many such patristic books which until then he had not possessed. Above all, in the library of the most glorious and great monastery of Vatopedi he acquired a priceless treasure, a book on the union of the mind with God, gathered from all the saints by great zealots in ancient times, and other books on prayer which until then we had not heard of. Having copied these out in several years by means of many skilled calligraphers and at no little expense, and having read them himself, comparing them with the originals, and having corrected them most surely and added the lives of all the holy writers of these books at the beginning of their books, he departed from the Holy Mountain of Athos with unutterable joy, having obtained a heavenly treasure upon earth. Then, coming to the most glorious Asia Minor city of Smyrna, he sent to Venice at no little expense, paid for by the alms of Christ-lovers, 36 patristic books, including in this number also the book of Saint Kallistos of which Symeon of Thessalonike testifies, but not including in this number the Patericon of the great Scetis of Egypt,” translation in *Blessed Paisius Velichkovsky*, Optima Version, vol. 1, published by The Saint Herman of Alaska Brotherhood (Platina, California, 1976), pp. 180-83. Tachiaos, p. 110, interprets the above witness as follows; “According to the above, the *Philokalia* consists of a collection of writings in two or more book manuscripts (βιβλία χειρόγραφα) which Saint Makarios discovered in Vatopedi,” and which Tachiaos has identified as cited above in the text. For Tachiaos’ translation of the above witness into modern Greek, see his book, pp. 109-10.

9 P. 109.

10 P. 12. See, also, more extensively Marcel Pirard, p. 54, n. 84.

of Theophan's Russian translation, the Romanian translation includes additional patristic texts not present in the Greek edition of the *Philokalia*, but perhaps this is also the case. With regard to the full French translation said to be in progress, no names of editors or translators are indicated and one wonders as to its relationship to the two volumes in French by Jacques Touraille.¹¹ Other editions that should be mentioned besides the first English *Philokalia* by Kadloubovsky and Palmer (see above) include a condensed French translation of the Greek original by Jean Gouillard¹² and a new comprehensive Greek edition which began to appear in Thessalonike in 1979 under the editorship of Panagiotes Chrestou and Theodore Zeses.¹³ Offering the Greek original together with a translation into modern Greek in parallel pages, this last edition begins with the Desert Fathers and will include many more patristic texts not present in the *Philokalia* compiled by Saints Makarios and Nikodemos. However, these saints would no doubt rejoice knowing that the cherished tradition of the *Philokalia* is becoming even more accessible not only to the modern Greek Orthodox public, as they intended it, but also to many other Orthodox and non-Orthodox people through the above translations in modern languages.

A very attractive and carefully edited work, the first volume of the new English *Philokalia* is based, as noted by the editors, on the first volume of the Aster edition published in 1957 (see above). The contents of the first volume of the English *Philokalia* include a valuable introduction by the editors, a brief note on biblical references, followed by texts and discourses by Saint Isaiah the Solitary, Evagrius the Solitary, Saint John Cassian, Saint Mark the Ascetic, Saint Hesychios the Priest, Saint Neilos the Ascetic, Saint Diadochos of Photiki, Saint John of Karpathos, and in an appendix by a work attributed to Saint Anthony the Great. A substantial glossary and an extensive index enhance the usefulness of this volume. When the table of contents of this volume is compared to that of the Greek original, one discovers a curious omission which remains without explanation: two brief works attributed to Saint Theodore of Edessa which conclude the Greek original are missing from the English

11 *Philocalie de Pères Neptiques I. Calliste et Ignace Xanthopoulos: Centurie spirituelle* (Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1979) and vol. 2, *Pierre Damascène: Livre* (Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1980).

12 *Petite Philokalie* (Paris, 1953).

13 Φιλοκαλία τῶν Νηπτικῶν καὶ Ἀσκητικῶν (Πατερικαὶ Ἐκδόσεις Γρηγόριος Παλαμᾶς, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1978—). To date three volumes have appeared, vol. 1, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (1978), vol. 22, *Nicholas Kabasilas (Commentary on the Divine Liturgy and Life in Christ, 1979)*, and vol. 7, *Dorotheos: Spiritual Teachings* (1981), all in the original and modern Greek. Finally, one might mention that, not at all related to the Greek *Philokalia* collection, a collection of writings by Russian saints and authors who yet used and were strongly influenced by the *Philokalia* has begun with the appearance of *Little Russian Philokalia, Vol. I: St. Seraphim of Sarov* (Saint Herman of Alaska Brotherhood, Platina, California, 1980).

volume!

In all other respects the editors carefully note in what ways the new English edition departs from the Aster edition, ways with which not all will agree. The decision to use more reliable versions of texts, if such are now available, as well as the judicious updating of Saint Nikodemos' notes preceding each of the authors, are irreproachable from a scholarly viewpoint. So, also, the attribution of the work *On Prayer: One Hundred and Fifty-Three Texts* to Evagrius, rather than to Saint Neilos, a case supported by substantial evidence and a scholarly consensus, was necessary and is commendable. But two other departures from the Aster edition were not necessary and will probably prove to be controversial, especially among the Orthodox. I would like briefly to comment on them.

The first debatable departure from the Aster edition is the omission of Saint Nikodemos' prologue to the *Philokalia* collection which some regard as a literary and spiritual gem. Why was this prologue omitted? Does it lack sufficient value? Or is it perhaps unsuitable for the modern English reader in terms of style? No explanation is given, but several favorable references are made to it in the editors' introduction (pp. 14-15). In addition to the editors' valuable introduction, this reviewer would advocate the inclusion of the prologue in the next printing of this first volume of the English *Philokalia* on several grounds.

First, Saint Nikodemos' prologue is an integral and worthy part of the Greek edition of the *Philokalia*. Concise and literary, it is a stirring introductory statement on the meaning of the *Philokalia* as a way of prayer from the hand of the one who first edited the collection. One might even say that it is just as useful to read, especially for the modern reader, as any short discourse in the *Philokalia*. (Admittedly, Saint Nikodemos' extensive laudatory words for John Mavrogordatos, who financed the Venetian printing of the *Philokalia*, in the second part of the prologue seem out of place and could be excised with proper notation). Moreover, the prologue, through its biblical references to unceasing prayer, the dwelling of Christ in the heart by the grace of the Spirit, and the inner warmth and joy of the believer living in the presence of God, as well as through its exhortational appeal as it fervently addresses monastics and lay persons alike, is closer to the spirit of the *Philokalia* than the somewhat formal introduction of the English editors. Saint Nikodemos, in fact, urges the use of the *Philokalia* as a means of awakening the reader to the personal and awesome presence of God, whereas the editors' introduction at times strikes one as viewing the spiritual life as a kind of entity in itself, although certainly this is not their intent. Yet it must be admitted that we who admire the *Philokalia* writings are sometimes concerned with the "spiritual life" as a special science, whereas the saints point us to the immediacy of God himself. Finally, Saint Nikodemos' prologue belongs in the English *Philokalia* because it breathes the air of patristic spiritual renewal, which is the reason behind

Saint Nikodemos' and Saint Makarios' search for such writings, and the purpose behind their extraordinary efforts to publish the *Philokalia* and thus make it available to people outside of monastic walls. The urgency of their concern shows in clear historical light that, long before the twentieth-century patristic revival, a call for patristic renewal (spiritual, not merely scholarly) came from within Orthodoxy already in the eighteenth century, growing out of Orthodox awareness of Orthodox people's ignorance of their own spiritual treasures. The prologue's appeal for such renewal by following the way of the saints and Church Fathers is altogether harmonious with the purposes of the editors of the English *Philokalia* which go beyond scholarly interests.

The second serious departure from the Greek original is the relegation of a work, *On the Character of Men and on the Virtuous Life*, attributed to Saint Anthony the Great, from first to last place (in an appendix) in the English *Philokalia*, a change which seems to militate against the editors' own expressed criterion of genuineness being connected not to proven authorship, but to whether or not a writing belongs "to the spiritual tradition which the collection as a whole represents (p. 12)." But in this case the editors have plenty to say, amassing a host of arguments against the non-Christian character *per se* of this work (pp. 327-28)— so many arguments that, in fact, one gets the feeling that this work should not be in the *Philokalia* at all. They seem to build up their position in a powerful, irrevocable way, as indicated by the following excerpts from their arguments:

The work contains many passages of deep spiritual insight... It is, however, almost certainly not of Christian origin, but seems to be a compilation of extracts from various Stoic and Platonic writers of the first to fourth centuries...there are no citations from Scripture... Nowhere is there any allusion to Jesus Christ, to the Church or to the sacraments. The Trinity is mentioned once, but this appears to be an interpolation... Throughout the work the doctrine of man is Stoic or Platonic rather than Christian. Nothing is said about the fall or about man's dependence on divine grace... For these reasons, the Editors of the English translation do not regard [this] work...as a Christian writing, and they have, therefore, placed it in an appendix (pp. 327-28).

Although this reviewer would not dispute many of the above observations, he questions the light in which they are cast, as well as the decision to place the above discourse in an appendix. That many of the above arguments are true, paradoxically as it may sound, is essentially beside the point. Ever since Luther New Testament scholars have advanced similar arguments against the Epistle of James which is Hellenistic Jewish in content, has rare references to Jesus Christ, and carries none of Saint Paul's accents on faith and grace. Yet it stands quite nicely within

the New Testament canon, echoing Jesus' concern about actually living a righteous life, despite the fact that the Epistle of James could not stand alone as a complete statement of the Christian gospel. The same is true of the above discourse attributed to Saint Anthony which the monastic tradition for centuries found congenial and included it in the *Philokalia* collection, and of which no teaching cannot be given a tolerable Christian interpretation. As long as it does not stand alone as a complete statement of Orthodox spiritual life, we can appreciate its own accents as much as those who used it for centuries in the Christian tradition and as much as those who placed it in the *Philokalia* treasure. That the same discourse makes no mention of the Church and the sacraments equally applies to many of the *Philokalia* writings. Lack of such references is typical of the ascetic literature. In this respect these writings resemble the wisdom literature of the Old Testament which rarely mentions the Jewish ritual law or Jewish worship.

But one senses that the heart of the editors' objection to the above work is that it is Platonic and Stoic, rather than Christian, in content. However, the contributions of Platonism and Stoicism to patristic thought, especially in the area of basic terminology and ethics, cannot so simply be taken care of by relegation to the category of an appendix; they constitute a much more organic and complex matter *vis-à-vis* the Christian tradition. The editors themselves (p. 377) acknowledge that the patristic tripartite distinction of the powers of the soul (*epithymetikon*, *thymikon* and *logistikon*) comes from Plato. The same is true with regard to the key term *nous* (intellect) as a vehicle of communion with God and the concept of *theosis* (deification) meaning the attainment of divine likeness, both of which are so important to the patristic and ascetic literature. One could mention a host of other connections between Greek patristic thought and the Greek philosophical tradition such as the four Stoic virtues, the notions of *praktike* (practice) and *theoria* (spiritual-intellectual vision), the concepts of *arete* (virtue) and *apatheia* (dispassion), and others. In addition to material agreement on many ethical values, there is also a harmonious convergence between the biblical and the Greek philosophico-religious traditions in terms of basic categories of thought such as the eternal and transitory, corruption and incorruption, mortal and immortal, material and spiritual, reward and punishment and the like.

Yet, why presuppose at all that Greek contributions (or 'influence' as many call it) to the Christian tradition are necessarily negative and rejectable, rather than expected and welcome? Granted that we should carefully adhere to the criteria of the Christian gospel, doctrine, and ecclesiology, which are matters of first importance for the Christian, but are there not significant areas of human culture and wisdom that Christianity welcomes and reinterprets? Surely a theology of creation and of the incarnation embrace "whatever is true, whatever is honorable,

whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely" (Phil 4.8), and for this reason the Christian tradition embraced what was best in classical antiquity both consciously and unconsciously. Such a positive perspective would also make us more appreciative of expressions of human goodness today and help us utilize new cultural forms so far as they are in harmony with the Christian faith. Whatever its historical and literary origins, the above discourse, *On the Character of Men and on the Virtuous Life*, attributed to Saint Anthony has been "Christianized"—it has been embraced by the Christian tradition over many centuries because it is harmonious to Christian teaching and, therefore, deserves its rightful place in the *Philokalia*. One might add that its general character makes it more useful as the first text of the *Philokalia* for modern readers.

Let us now turn to the most important issue of the translation itself. According to the editors (p. 17), the initial translation of this volume was done by many persons, namely Dr. Constantine Cavarinos, Father Basil Osborne, Father Norman Russell, and an unnamed monk or monks (not specified) of the Holy Transfiguration Monastery in Boston, and credit is given to all in the title page. The editors also note (*ibid.*) that Philip Sherard and Kallistos Ware assumed the task of checking the translation against the Greek, while all three editors take the responsibility for the final version of the text. An apologetic note to their collaborators named above ("we hope...that those who prepared the initial translations will forgive us for the many changes made to their texts," p. 18) indicates that the editorial work was done with a firm hand. Whatever the individual contributions, all are to be congratulated because they have produced an extremely successful and very readable translation.

Some examples of masterful translation of short sayings or teachings of the ascetic writers may be given. The statement, «ὁ μὴ εὐρίσκων βοήθειαν ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου, οὐδὲ τὴν εἰρήνην πιστεῦσαι δύναται,» (p. 32, par. 16 of the Greek original) is translated: "He who receives no help when at war should feel no confidence when at peace" (p. 25, par. 16). The verb "receives" instead of "finds" for "εὐρίσκων" renders more accurately the meaning for the ascetic literature because the help which is mentioned comes from God and is precisely received rather than somehow found either by good fortune or cleverness. The phrase "when at war" is concise for "ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου" (rather than the possible more literal rendering "at a time of war"). And the clause "should feel no confidence when at peace" is excellent for the comparable difficult Greek clause. Similar masterful renderings are: "It is impossible for man to achieve good through evil means" (p. 26, par. 21) for «ἀδύνατον ἀνθρώπῳ ποιῆσαι καλὰ, ποιοῦντι κακά» (Greek p. 34, par. 21); "which passions attack the soul, and which the body" (p. 27, par. 24) for «ποῖον πάθος ἐστὶ ψυχικόν, καὶ ποῖον σωματικόν» (Greek p. 34, par. 24); and "For fear that you may go wrong, stay rooted in your cell" (p. 34, lines 19-20) for «φοβοῦ τὸ πταῖσμα, καὶ ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ σου ἐδραῖος ἔσο»

Greek p. 40, lines 36-7).

It is clear that the translators commendably seek equivalence of meaning, not a wooden rendering of the original, so they exercise a certain freedom in translation. Not only are the long Greek sentences broken up for a readable translation, which is standard procedure for translation into English, but also parts of sentences are sometimes joined differently, reversed or even transposed (for example, compare English translation p. 22, par. 3 to Greek p. 30, par. 3; translation p. 33, lines 8-11 to Greek p. 39, lines 36-8; translation p. 163, par. 5 to Greek p. 142, par. 5, and others). Not infrequently there is a creative paraphrastic tendency in the translation which actually improves comprehension of the original. The exhortation «ἀγωνισώμεθα οὖν...κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν» (Greek p. 33, par. 17) is rendered: "Let us therefore *pursue the spiritual way* with all our strength" (p. 25, par. 17, my italics). The statement «ἡ Παλαιὰ (Διαθήκη) οὐκ ἔτελειου, οὔτε ἐπληροφóρει τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον εἰς θεοσέβειαν» (Greek p. 158, par. 112) is translated: "The Old Testament did not perfect or fulfill *the relationship of the inner self to God*" (p. 181, par. 112, my italics). The attribute in the expression «θεοφιλῆς νοῦς» (Greek p. 5, par. 7) comes out: "intellect (which) enjoys the love of God" (p. 330, par. 7). The word «παρηρησία» (Greek p. 42, line 28) is rendered: "intimate communion" (p. 36, line 14).

The question inevitably arises whether the translation at times is too free, including even occasional explanatory additions to the original, and some will undoubtedly think so. The expression «πρόκοψαι κατὰ Θεόν» (Greek p. 32, par. 13) is unnecessarily translated: "advance in holiness" (p. 25, par. 13) instead of simply "advance in the way of God." The "struggle" in «ὁ ἀγὼν γὰρ προσφίγγει τὴν καρδίαν» (Greek p. 33, par. 18) is expanded to "struggle and stress" in the translation (p. 26, par. 18). The reference to communal monasteries in the sentence «ἐτέρων ἐστὶ, τῶν ἐν κοινωβίῳ Πατέρων» (Greek p. 40, line 5) is explained for the contemporary reader with the aid of a contrasting reference to the hermetic life absent from the original: "It is the work of others, of the holy Fathers who live in communities *and not as solitaries*" (p. 33, lines 16-17, my italics). So, also, the "Rechabites," the descendants of Jonadab, are specified in the English text (p. 201, line 6), whereas the original omits the reference to their name (Greek p. 191, line 4).

A bit more serious is the fact that at times the translation seems to modify unnecessarily the original for the sake of contemporary relevance. Thus, «ἐπάρατος κενοδοξία» (Greek p. 52, lines 11-12), which may be rendered "accursed vainglory" or even "cursed self-esteem," is actually translated: "the sense of your own importance" (p. 47, line 1). This tendency toward correction of the original—this time for another reason, that is, apparently to 'Christianize' Greek terminology—is nowhere more evident than in the occasional use of the words "holiness" and "holy" for the term *arete* ("virtue," see for example p. 47,

line 12 and Greek p. 52, line 21, and also p. 162, the text title and Greek p. 141). The disputed work attributed to Saint Anthony (see above) suffers most frequently in this regard, where the words "holy" and "holiness" translate a number of different Greek words such as «εὐλαβής» (par. 9), «εὐζωΐα» (par. 15), «ἐνάρετος» (pars. 16-17 and 20), «κάλλιστος» (par. 27), and «χρηστός» (pars. 118 and 146). Where modification is commendable, such as in translating "a human being" (p. 331, par. 13) for «ἄνθρωπος» (Greek p. 6, par. 13), it is not consistent. This is especially unfortunate in the cases of the plural. Thus, for the sentence «οἱ ἄνθρωποι λογικοὶ καταχρηστικῶς λέγονται» (Greek p. 4, par. 1) we are given the translation: "*Men* are often called intelligent wrongly" (p. 329, par. 1, my italics). Similarly, the title of Saint Anthony's disputed work which in part reads «περὶ ἡθους ἀνθρώπων» (Greek p. 4) is rendered: "On the Character of *Men*" (my italics) instead of "On the Character of *Human Beings*" or "On *Human* Character." But surely Saint Anthony's disputed treatise applies to the character of women, too, and many readers of the discourse will be women.

The translation is also marked by occasional omissions. It is curious why the personal address "beloved" or «ἀγαπητέ» (Greek p. 30, par. 3 and p. 38, line 27), which adds a certain warmth to the text, even though it may be rhetorical, is left out of the English translation (p. 22, par. 3 and p. 31, third line from bottom), when elsewhere the translation "my son" (p. 148, line 7) and also "my dear son" (p. 149, line 12) are retained (see Greek p. 128, line 6 and p. 129, line 5 respectively). Likewise, «ὁ μακάριος Δαυὶδ» (Greek p. 276, par. 2) is only "David" in the translation (p. 298, par. 2) and not "the blessed David." The following omission apparently avoids a redundancy: «Περὶ δὲ ἱματίων, μὴ ἐπιθυμῆσης περισσὰ ἔχειν ἱμάτια. Τὰ ἀρκούντα τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ σώματος προνοοῦ» (omission in italics, Greek p. 39, lines 20-21), translated: "With regard to clothes, be content with what is sufficient for the needs of the body" (p. 32, eleventh line from bottom). Yet another omission is inexplicable: ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων ρηθήσεται, κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τοῦτον μυστικῶς γυμναζόμενος» (omission in italics, Greek p. 48, end of par. 7). It is translated: "the same principle applies to other things as well" (p. 43, lines 5-6).

The glossary (pp. 357-67), which is an attempt at a rudimentary standardization of ascetic terminology, a difficult task, indeed, is very well done and extremely helpful to the average reader. "Contemplation" is probably the best one-word rendering of *theoria* (meaning spiritual vision, or intuitive spiritual awareness of God, or the meaning of things by the power of the Holy Spirit); and we also have to be satisfied with "stillness" for *hesychia* (meaning the state of peace by prayerful abiding in God and filled by the presence of God). The term *nous* and its derivatives constitute a difficult case. The choice of the term "intellect" ("the organ of contemplation") for *nous* is wise. The editors sometimes

use the adjective “noetic,” but it is not always useful. For example, «νοητὴ θάλασσα» (Greek p. 111, par. 29) is properly translated “spiritual sea” (p. 128, par. 29) and not “noetic sea.” However, the adverb «νοητῶς» is in one place translated “inwardly” (p. 163, par. 8 and Greek p. 142, par. 8) and in another “noetically” (p. 348, par. 124 and Greek p. 21, par. 124). This reviewer would have preferred “discernment” for the key word *diakrisis* because “discrimination,” as the editors render it, bears nuances of prejudice in contemporary English. Finally, “confidence” or even “spiritual confidence” is closer to the meaning of *parresia* than the translation “intimate communion” as it appears in the glossary (p. 362).

The translation is a free translation—it clearly strives for readability and relevance, rather than scholarly precision as such. Nevertheless, it is generally excellent. This reviewer checked about two-thirds of the translation against the Greek but did not discover a single case of fundamental distortion of meaning. On the contrary, he was frequently excited about the clarity, conciseness, and even elegance of the translation. Even in places where a high degree of freedom was taken with regard to the Greek text, the English rendering was invariably accurate in terms of equivalence of meaning and sometimes clarified and, thus, improved the meaning of the original. Any of the above critical comments are, therefore, in no way intended to diminish the editors’ significant achievement, but rather to offer specific suggestions for consideration when the time comes to reprint this first volume of the *Philokalia*.

Now that the complete collection of the *Philokalia* is being published, it may hopefully generate articles and books on specific themes of Orthodox spirituality and its *application* by ordinary Christians in relationship to contemporary patterns of life and thought. The translation of the *Philokalia* from Greek into English needs, at least for the majority of rank-and-file Christians, another kind of translation of the contents of the *Philokalia* in terms of interpretation, clarification, and application of the principles and methods of the *Philokalia* in ways that can be grasped and used by laypersons.

English readers everywhere will be grateful to the editors for the appearance of this first volume of the complete text of the *Philokalia*. The remaining four volumes will be eagerly awaited. The completion of their project promises to be epoch-making because the new English *Philokalia* will offer to English readers the harvest of the spirituality of Eastern Christianity.

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REVIEWS

The Philokalia: The Complete Text, Vol. 2. Translated and Edited by G.E.H. Palmer *et al.* London: Faber and Faber, 1981. Pp. 414.

No Orthodox Christian could be anything but elated to see the profound spiritual philosophy of the *Philokalia* appear in the English language. Within the pages of this treasure is to be found the essence of the Orthodox faith: nothing less than a systematic presentation of the teachings by which the human being reaches his highest spiritual state, his perfection in Christ. This moral and spiritual perfection, wrought by the mystical union of man with the energies of God, is the very aim of the *Philokalia* itself, calling through its pages the soul to a love of that which is beautiful (*philokalia*). The East could give to the English-speaking world no greater gift than such an instrument, by which the authentic secrets of apostolic Christianity are transmitted down to our own age. This second of a projected five-volume text of the *Philokalia* in the English tongue brings that sonorous gift ever nearer.

The Greek *Philokalia* was first published in Venice toward the end of the eighteenth century by Saint Makarios, Archbishop of Corinth. Saint Makarios had entrusted the editing and arrangement of these spiritual writings to Saint Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain, who added to them an introduction and brief biographies of the Fathers included in the collection. It is apparent from the full title of the *Philokalia* (*Philokalia of the Sacred Neptic Ones, Collected from the Holy and God-bearing Fathers, by Which the Mind is Cleansed, Enlightened, and Made Perfect through Practical and Theoretical [Contemplative] Philosophy*) that Saint Nikodemos did not arrange the texts casually, but in such a way as to direct the spiritual development of the reader in a purposeful manner. Their arrangement is appropriate to their spiritual utility. Nor are his introduction and biographies mere scholarly rejoinders or textual commentaries; rather, they too remind the reader that the *Philokalia* is meant as a book of instructions to be followed methodically and with great attention and care. The writings are not a scholarly compilation, and somehow one must sense that to distort their order, tone, or arrangement is akin to tampering with Scripture.

Unfortunately, as if to subdue our enthusiasm and contain our elation, what we have in the translated volumes of the *Philokalia* are not complete texts and an authentic reproduction of Saint Nikodemos' edition of the *Philokalia*. The editors are perhaps injudicious in using such a descriptive title. What we have are the writings of the *Philokalia* arranged such as to suggest a simple collection of texts set out in a topical,

though not spiritually methodical, way. Thus, the first volume of the English translation violated the order of texts established by Saint Nikodemos and placed the sayings of Saint Anthony the Great at the end of the collection. The remonstrances against the authenticity of Saint Anthony's sayings were wholly discordant with traditional Orthodox piety. Now again, in this second volume, the biographies of Saint Nikodemos have been replaced by the editors' biographical comments and critical observations, evincing the same disregard for Saint Nikodemos' spiritual discretion and direction that we found in the first volume. The consequences of this distortion are bodeful.

It behooves us to observe great caution in dealing with spiritual texts. Such observance is sometimes lacking in the present volume of the *Philokalia*. In the introductory note to the writings of Saint Maximos the Confessor, for example, the editors ponder Saint Makarios' choice of a certain disputed text over another text which he undoubtedly knew to be more accurate. They conclude that both Saint Makarios and Saint Nikodemos were interested in "selections more immediately relevant to the spiritual life" (p. 50), yet leave us with the distinct impression that their observation is tenuous. Had the editors retained the commentaries of Saint Nikodemos, neither they nor we would have even a scant doubt about textual choices. There is abundant evidence in these commentaries that not a word or phrase is heedlessly offered us.

We might, parenthetically, remark here that generally incaution in treating Orthodox spiritual writings is an increasingly menacing phenomenon. We may read in translation the spiritual giants of the East on humility, the indispensable reverence with which we must receive the spiritual truths bequeathed us by our forefathers, and the folly by which dead scholars with empty reason seek 'objective truth' in a deceptive world. And how are these spiritual themes brought to us? — In the midst of the folly which they decry! We are given onerous, incredibly arrogant introductions to these translations. We are offered fatuous critical notes on the most trifling of matters. In a particularly egregious instance of poor taste, there were appended to a recent volume, richly adorned with lessons in humility and self-effacement, vaguely-cloaked attestations to the spiritual eminence of the translators of the work. At other times we find individuals cited by name as inadequate translators. Yet another translator finds that none, save his own texts, can touch the sometimes insensate standards which he himself has established for the would-be translator. And daily this menace grows. So encrusted have the golden words of the Fathers become with the the personal pretensions and inane preoccupations of the translators, that the reader is wont to bypass the untarnished, inner treasure of the patristic literature itself.

The *Philokalia* now being made available in the English language is a product of our times and is not without a tone of irreverence (however unintended this effect). The richest words, passed down in the Greek

with deference, respectful silence, and humble supplication before the ever-present God who permeates the pages of the *Philokalia*, reach the English reader amidst pedantic, frequently superficial, and spiritually dry textual animadversions. One is unprofitably subjected to sometimes prolix (and, one might venture, pedestrian) discourses on the seemingly unending manuscripts from which any number of texts might or might not have been drawn. One who is to the original editors of the *Philokalia* a holy and God-bearing Father might well be 'pseudo- this-or-that' to the editors. The magnificent, reverential quality of Saint Nikodemos' *Philokalia* is lost in the scholarly tone of the translated volumes. This is even more evident in the second volume of the project. How tragic is all of this when one reflects on the fact that even those with a knowledge of Greek (save those very few who know the language in its many forms, dialects, and complexities) cannot with any ease read the complex and ornate Greek of the *Philokalia*. A truly complete text, loyal to the spirit of the original Greek text, might have been to the benefit of all. As the text now stands, one loses something in the English translation, while the Greek, despite its difficulty, retains an essential, spiritual property.

All of what we have thus far said relates to the 'art' which is translation. Since all translation is subjective, there can be no such thing as a 'literal' translation of any text. All the more so with a language as complex as Greek and with material as intense as that in the *Philokalia*. To translate it adequately, one should, in fact, find himself immersed in the spiritual life portrayed in its texts. Without this, there cannot be even a rudimentary understanding of its vocabulary. Its words refer to spiritual experiences and practices which non-Orthodox translators (as well, perhaps, as the Orthodox translator with insufficient spiritual experience) can hardly fathom. The 'art' of translating the *Philokalia* lies, fundamentally, within an understanding of the 'art of arts' which the collection itself describes. To capture the meaning of such a theoretical manual is to work from a living knowledge of spiritual theory in practice. Someone once commented that without the *Philokalia* Orthodox monasticism is almost incomprehensible. By the same token, we might say that without Orthodox monasticism the *Philokalia* itself is quite beyond intellectual apprehension. It simply cannot be translated by anyone separated from, or unfamiliar with, what it describes. Roman Catholic translators, for example, cannot possibly adequately translate the *Philokalia*. In essence, their translations move in two directions: away from the Greek to the language of translation, but also away from the Orthodox mind-set and spiritual world view. The 'art' of translation is precisely the acquisition of new words and the maintenance of the original, authentic spirit. Quite frankly, however well-intentioned, heterodox translators cannot convey a spirit which was not theirs in the first place. Were it so, our Orthodox understanding of *paradosis* would be for naught.

The disregard for the spiritual authority of Saint Nikodemos in arranging the texts of the English *Philokalia*, combined with the misapprehension of the art of translation by some of the translators, occasions some great danger for the neophyte. True the text is written in a very readable, concise, and understandable English. There are not more than a dozen lapses in the use of simple, unaffected vocabulary that any reasonably educated person could understand. And true it is that certain usages in the transliteration of names are refreshing. It is pleasing to read of Saint John Damaskenos and Saint Thalassios. Certainly no one regrets the trend away from the pretentious and misleading 'Latinizations' of the names of Eastern Fathers which mark so many patristic texts in translation. However, these gains hardly compensate for or outweigh the deficiencies of the text as regards the translation of spiritual concepts.

How can one countenance the translation of a term like '*diakrisis*' by the English word 'discrimination?' 'Discretion' or 'discernment' are far better choices, and even these words should not be applied unless the text is carefully analyzed and the use of one or the other is deemed appropriate. And certainly no Church Father ever meant by the word '*logikos*' the English word 'intelligent.' Only the human being can be *logikos*, or 'rational,' while almost any living creature can show intelligence. Texts dating as far back as Saint John Klimakos would dictate the use of the word 'rational.' In many places in the text the translators miss the occasionally ironic (and sometimes 'mystical') way that the word '*logikos*' is employed. An experienced monk or spiritual seeker would have an immediate notion of these words and would be hard-pressed to agree with the translators, in no small number of passages, where they have unwisely rendered '*diakrisis*' and '*logikos*' as 'discrimination' and 'intelligent.' These two words provide but two vivid examples of scores of other usages that are quite misleading. The reader should never be led away from the subtle nuances of Orthodox spiritual writings, through which every manner of hidden mystery is revealed to the person of experience.

The immediate reaction to these comments might be that the 'art' of translation as envisioned here is, on the whole, too subjective. It might seem impossible, to the spiritually uninitiated observer, that authorized or consistent texts could result from such an 'art.' Quite to the contrary, however, one might contend that there is a universality in spiritual experience, a mystical consensus, as it were, that allows for the emergence of standard texts in the Orthodox Church. This consensus accounts for the joint work of Saints Makarios and Nikodemos. The blessed Paisios Velichkovskii evidenced this universality in his Slavonic translations and spoke on many occasions of it. And any experienced monastic, whether a translator or not, knows of this phenomenon—strange and dubious to the academic mind, yet sure and present to the spiritual man. If there be

anyone who doubts that such a 'mystical universality,' this paradoxical standardization of 'subjective' translating, exists, he would be ill-advised to toil in the translation of Orthodox texts.

It could be strongly argued that, whatever the process by which it is accomplished, a standardization of Orthodox spiritual language is needed in English. But this standardization, we must insist, should naturally rise out of the subjective kind of translation coming from spiritually-experienced individuals. As more and more of these people produce texts in translation, there will emerge this verifiable consistency and standardization in their writings. Until such is the case, the present translation of the *Philokalia* risks the creation of distortions of spiritual life based on a scholarly (and at times accurate), but spiritually vapid vocabulary. Thus, the glossary at the back of the English *Philokalia*, though it mitigates the negative effects of some of the more poorly translated terms by offering extended and often careful treatments of those terms, is perilous. It seeks standardization by scholarly methods and with theological annotations that are altogether dry and limited. (See, for example, the entry for *plani*, or 'spiritual delusion.' In no sense does the glossary adequately portray, with the interchangeable words 'illusion' and 'delusion,' the envious hate, spiritual arrogance, and self-righteous viciousness of those who fall to *plani*. Having seen the thing, any experienced spiritual man would have taken great care to avoid so artless a definition of *plani* as that presented in the glossary).

The most efficacious way to standardize spiritual language is by describing spiritual experience. And here we can note a more momentous reservation regarding the English translation of the *Philokalia*. The *Philokalia* contains the *theoria* of the spiritual life. Since theory presupposes practice, would it not have been better to translate the very textbook of *praxis*, the *Evergetinos*, before undertaking a rendering of the *Philokalia*? Had this been done, probably no reader would have wondered about the true meaning of *diakrisis* or *logikos* or *plani*. The *Evergetinos* portrays for the reader the experience by which one must prepare himself to understand (indeed, to translate) the *Philokalia*. This sequence in translation not having been followed, we are left with the flower of spiritual practice, the *Philokalia*, cut away from the root of the *Evergetinos*. That flower may therefore prove to be only fleetingly fragrant.

It is the advice of this reviewer that anyone seeking to read the *Philokalia* in translation should first read the lives of the saints. Very good collections of these are available in translation, perhaps the best being the seven-volume series on *Modern Orthodox Saints* by Professor Constantine Cavarnos. (Dr. Cavarnos was an assistant in the translation of the two completed volumes of the *Philokalia*. The errors in question are not his and, without doubt, could have been avoided had he directed the entire translation project.) Then should follow a careful reading of

the portions of the *Evergetinos* now available in English. After this preparation only should one consider himself ready for a deliberate, circumspect reading of sections from the *Philokalia*. In this latter project it might be best to forego the glossary in the English *Philokalia* and study assiduously the glossary contained in another of Professor Cavarinos' volumes, *Byzantine Thought and Art* (Belmont, Mass., 1968). This course of study, leading from the lives of the saints to the *Philokalia*, insures the student of understanding that training, methodical development, and discipline are as important to theological learning as they are to athletic endeavor. Theory without practice, theology without fasting and prayer—these are the dry bones of men who live and are yet dead.

Finally, lest anyone think that this review intends wholly to disapprove the ongoing translation of the *Philokalia*, let me express now the same elation about the project which I noted in my introductory remarks. I wish only to counsel caution; to express my regret that the *Philokalia* was translated out of the natural sequence by which English readers should encounter the depths of Orthodox spirituality; and to ask the Orthodox reader not to surrender his spiritual sensibilities to the academic tone of the translation. The reality of the translation I welcome. At a time when spiritually inexperienced Orthodox are drawing inane parallels between the deep, mystical teachings passed down to us in silence by the Fathers and the insane, demonically inspired 'spiritual' renewal of the modern ecclesiastical age, the *Philokalia* thunders out. It speaks directly to the spiritual delusion of today's formula preachers, who profess a 'speak-and-be-saved' spirituality foreign to true Orthodoxy. It preaches back to them with a shocking spiritual power in which the soul, the mind, and the unfathomable mystery of salvation are transported to a new realm, where formula becomes folly and affirmation loses import. It demands of the authentic Christian an ascent up and beyond human belief and discursive thought to a sphere of true faith and divine thought. Beware the modern 'evangelizer,' who in the *Philokalia* finds news of a 'good' unknown to modern pietistic prattle.

As the *Philokalia* indicts the frenzied perverters of spirituality by exposing their pitiful depths by its unmeasured heights, it says many fear-some things to today's monk, the chief practitioner of its precepts. We have, in our infant monasticism in the West, developed some terrible flaws. There is, on the one hand, a 'shadow monasticism' in which an intricately justified 'modernization' of the angelic life is thought to *reflect* some ancient monasticism. The *Philokalia* shows monasticism to be timeless. There is nothing ancient and nothing modern. On the other hand, a 'perfect monasticism' has surfaced in some places in which perfect adherence to the monastic means has clouded the monastic end. Contumelious pronouncements are issued by these perfected monastics against any 'fabricators' or 'innovators' who fail to follow (and, one might suspect, laud) their pristine way. The *Philokalia* awakens any

dazzled by the gleam of such 'perfection'; somehow the beauty of the ladder tends to fade before an understanding of the true perfection to which it reaches. Indeed, 'shadow monasticism' fails to develop resoluteness and genuine spiritual fervor (a failure effected by any disingenuous accommodation to the supposed demands of the 'modern age'). Likewise, 'perfect monasticism,' in its insolent disdain for all that it does not encompass, parts with charity, compassion, and (not least of all) true spiritual humility. To these ills, the *Philokalia* comes as a great physician, giving direction, balance, and therapy. And if its curative balm does not affect the patient, it can, at the very least, warn others of what otherwise might become epidemic.

The *Philokalia*, if read with care after much preparation and in a state of spiritual sobriety, gives us profound glimpses of the Truth of truths. Its publication is an eminent accomplishment. I await the next volumes.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
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The Ancient Fathers of the Desert. By Archimandrite Chrysostomos. Brookline, Massachusetts: Hellenic College Press, 1980. Pp. 118. Cloth \$8.00. Paper \$4.95.

The compiler and translator of this book is Abbot of the Saint Gregory Palamas Monastery at Hayesville, Ohio, and Professor of Christian Thought at Ashland Theological Seminary and of Psychology at Ashland College. According to its subtitle, the book consists of "translated narratives from *Evergetinos* on Passions and Perfection in Christ." In his nine-page introduction, Archimandrite Chrysostomos informs us that the primary original source of this volume was the *Mikros* ('Small') *Evergetinos* that was compiled and translated into demotic Greek by the monk Kallinikos of the Skete of Saint Anna on the Holy Mountain of Athos, and published at the Holy Mountain and in Athens in 1977 (p. 17). We are further informed that he has taken the liberty of combining with the narratives of the Desert Fathers a few anecdotes of "spiritual people of our own times, mostly holy men and women living in Greece" (ibid.). His reason for doing this was "to emphasize that, despite the waning tide of Orthodox spirituality today, there are still some spiritual Fathers of the stature of the ancients" (ibid.). These anecdotes and sayings, it might be remarked, are interspersed in the book. However, Chrysostomos has been careful to indicate in each instance that the anecdote is of recent date.

The original *Evergetinos*, written in Patristic Greek, is a monumental work that was compiled in the eleventh century by Paul, Abbot of the Monastery of Evergetes at Constantinople, and contains teachings and

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Testament itself.

Throughout Bishop Gerasimos emphasizes the love of God: "But His love was unique. He loved everyone. He made the pain and the burden of people His own pain and burden. He loved us 'to the end'; He laid down His life for His friends. Christ was the love of God incarnate for our salvation; 'that is, God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself' " (Jn 3.16; 2 Cor 5.19-21) (p. 153).

There is no bibliography in *Christ in the Gospels*, but there is an index to New Testament and Old Testament references. There are no scholarly footnotes in this book which seeks to guide the committed reader to Christian truth: "Christian truth is the very mystery of God, of the world and of man; and as such it transcends every critical analysis. Though the person of Christ was revealed to us in history and in the realm of our everyday life, Christ will always lead us to the divine and to the external which is the source and the purpose of life and human existence" (p. 5).

Together *Bread for Life: Reading the Bible* and *Orthodoxy: Faith and Life—Christ in the Gospels* offer the reader excellent guides for, and to, the study of the Gospels.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

Politico-Historical Works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429). By David Balfour. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979. (In the series "Wiener Byzantinistische studien, no. 13). Pp. 320.

David Balfour, an Orthodox Christian linguist who has been working in Byzantine texts for a number of years, has presented the scholarly community with a valuable monograph of a series of *inedita* of Symeon of Thessalonike. Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonike during a tumultuous period of the early fifteenth century, was a fascinating character and prolific writer who played a prominent role in the affairs of both the Byzantine Empire and the Orthodox Church. Balfour's is a detailed work with a very narrow purview, focusing on the city of Thessalonike, one man, and the relatively brief period of his episcopacy. It is not a book for the popular reader and is meant for the specialist in the field. Although the author makes no claims to be an historian or a Byzantinist, he does a brilliant job of rendering eight of Symeon's texts, providing substantial background material to take the reader beyond the limits of the period in which he is writing.

Symeon was Archbishop of Thessalonike from 1416/17 until mid-September, 1429. He died about six months before the fall of the city to the Turks. Although he became one of the best known and most prolific

Byzantine ecclesiastical writers of the period (some of his works occupy the whole of volume 155 of the MPG), he is known primarily from the seventeenth century as a liturgiologist. We meet Symeon here not as a liturgiologist, but as an active policymaker in both civil and ecclesiastical life, and as a defender of the faith at a time when surrender of the city and apostasy to Islam were immediate possibilities. In addition to being a staunch Orthodox, he, unlike many 'conservative' Orthodox of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was a statist and fought for the integrity of the empire. Symeon is, however, quite typical of ecclesiastical officials of the later part of the empire—active and involved in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. There is no timidity in his political writings; the Church and the empire were inseparable entities, both of eternal value, both eternal. It is, indeed, strange that the reality of the Byzantine predicament did not strike Symeon more forcefully. His writings identified the two realities of empire and Church at a time when many prominent and faithful ecclesiastics were beginning to see the only permanent value not in the empire but in the maintenance of the purity of the faith and canons of the Church, even under the political tutelage of the turban.

The eight texts, all related to history and international relations, throw a light on the personality of Symeon, largely a mystery until Balfour's analysis. Although the author offers edited texts and no translations, they are followed by extensive commentaries and, in some cases, extensive quotes of important sections. It is in these commentaries that a great deal of historical background is presented and here that the author does a fine job of placing the particular documents in context. Inevitably, readers with specialized interests will feel that something has been left out, but this review found the commentaries adequate and accurate. For the specialist, however, Balfour's commentaries are worthwhile not for the information they provide, which is readily available from other sources, but because they place Symeon within the context of events of the late fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century, beginning sometime around 1354 (the abdication of John VI and the Turkish occupation of Gallipoli). Balfour correctly notes that during this period there was a prevalent mood of "fatal despondency" among the Byzantines. In spite of the extensive historical background supporting certain of the documents, Balfour misses completely the importance of the socio-emotional climate of the period and the reaction of various parties to the manifest reduction of the empire.

Symeon is primarily a panegyrist of Saint Demetrios who could and would save the city of Thessalonike provided that the people repent; he is quite secondarily treated by Balfour as an historian of the period between 1387, the date of the original capture of Thessalonike when he begins his narrative, to sometime around 1427. In recounting the wonders of the *Myrovlytes*, Saint Demetrios, he covers some fascinating

events and imparts some "details which were hitherto unknown" (p. 6, 122, 125).

Symeon's works are a microcosm, both geographical and chronological, of a declining empire in a declining period. In his account of the events of Thessalonike, we see in miniature what happened in hundreds of locations and instances as the Turks swept across Anatolia and into Europe. For instance, in his letter to the Despot Andronikos, he urges him to hold Thessalonike and not to turn the city over to the Venetians' tutelage. Symeon was obsessed with a fierce hatred of both Turks and Latins. He was opposed to the Emperor Manuel's policy of peaceful coexistence with the Turks and was opposed to the plan favored by many Thessalonians of turning the rule of the city over to Venice. Did they not realize that the empire and Orthodoxy were indivisible? Such, however, was not the feeling of a large number of people for whom the loss of the city to either Turks or Venetians was both inevitable and preferable to the status quo. Symeon was not a far-sighted individual at a time when many ecclesiastics were openly opting for second class citizenship under the Turks as the price of survival for Orthodoxy. There was none of the far-sightedness which was demonstrated, for instance, by Gregory Palamas who saw the missionary potential of a Turkish victory!

Symeon's treatment of the transfer of the city to the Venetians is found in Text B8, Λόγος ιστορικός. The traditional picture of him as one of the prime movers in this transfer is incorrect. He opposed it and sought assistance only in the intercessions of Saint Demetrios. The masters of the city must not only be Christians, as in this case of the Venetians, but Byzantine εὐσεβεῖς. This text also throws considerable light on the role of the Despot Andronikos, who is traditionally thought to have sought the Venetian transfer and even gained from it financially. In fact, he unwillingly turned the city over to Venice in the face of popular rioting in favor of surrender to the Turks. Whatever the reason, Andronikos' move was, for Symeon, a desertion of the Byzantine position. In his *Apologia* (B5), he describes his setting out on a voyage never completed to Constantinople to stop the transfer. The city was finally transferred to Venetian control, Andronikos retired to a monastery, and Symeon managed to cooperate with the Venetian authority after having carefully negotiated protection of the integrity of the Orthodox faith, church property, and ecclesiastical hierarchy into the transfer agreement. He is known to have scrupulously avoided any *communicatio in sacris*.

Another interesting aspect of these texts is Symeon's warnings against any union negotiation with the Latins. Nowhere, however, does he call for the 'turban' as an option to these negotiations. For Symeon only the survival of the Byzantine Orthodox phenomenon was acceptable. In 1422, Symeon strongly opposed any union negotiations as divisive and doomed to failure. He was, of course, correct as Florence and its aftermath demonstrated. Here Balfour provides some excellent treatment of

Byzantine efforts to negotiate assistance through the carrot of union. He notes, however, that the Byzantine selection of Ferrara/Florence instead of Basel was a blow (p. 220, note 260) to western conciliarity. This is a bit naïve. It is hard to imagine that the Byzantines would have had any significant effect on the survival of conciliarity. In addition, it is questionable that Basel represented conciliarity in any Byzantine or Orthodox sense. It was largely a representative assembly and, perhaps, resembling more parliamentary developments to come. The Byzantines were used to viewing the papacy as the nexus of Western Christendom, the well-defined focus of authority. The Byzantines sought a crusade and the pope was the single power in the West who could, in their opinion, rally such a movement.

Balfour's *Politico-Historical Works of Symeon of Thessalonica* is an excellent monograph of the personality and political role of Symeon. The fact that Balfour is himself an Orthodox Christian no doubt enables him to give a more sensitive treatment of some of the difficult subject matter covered in this work. It is, however, a word directed at, and of interest to, scholars of the period, either ecclesiastical or political. It is not easy reading for the student of Byzantine or church history. The exhaustive analysis of Symeon as a political figure is the value of the work; it takes Symeon out of the context of liturgics. In fact, he and his works represent a microcosm of a two-hundred year period of decay and decline for the Byzantine Empire. Not only are the eight selected works well chosen for critical rendering, but they are the basis for a series of excellent commentaries on what was going on in the empire and, particularly, in Thessalonike. The reviewer hopes that this work is but the beginning of greater efforts to be devoted to Symeon by scholars of the period.

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A History of Christianity. By Donald W. Treadgold. Belmont, Massachusetts: Nordland Publishing Co., 1979. Pp. 277. \$18.95.

A History of Christianity is precisely that, a *history* of Christianity. It is not, and does not pretend to be, either a definitive history of the phenomenon of Christianity or a history of the Church. As such, it takes on the thematic character of an account of Christian thought and major themes from the Old Testament period through twentieth century modernism and scientism. This is a fascinating, though certainly not a unique, approach; it is unique in that it seeks to do this in one volume and should be welcomed by the student as a valuable corollary to the typical institutional approach to Church history common in Orthodox seminaries (such as the Jedin *Handbook of Church History* series). The

professional historian will find it a convenient summary of selected themes in the development of Christian thought, and the relationship of that thought to the secular world. The professional will also face occasional annoyance, as when Treadgold offers a definition of the term, "apology."

Treadgold does not identify Christianity with an institution; and topics which could have conveniently been discussed to highlight the institutional development of the Church, such as the hierarchy and the monarchical episcopacy, are all but ignored, as if institutional development has no ideological parallel. The formation of the New Testament canon is discussed, but the institutional aspects of its formation are ignored. This is acceptable, however, as long as the reader keeps in mind that this one volume intends to do no more than highlight selected themes, ideas, and movements. Essentially a popular level work, *A History of Christianity* admittedly aims at Christians who, quite frankly, do not often know what they believe (p. 241).

What seems to be a major breakthrough in this particular history is Treadgold's claim to include a treatment of Orthodox historical and theological parallels to western—Protestant and Roman Catholic—developments ("most histories of Christianity give much space to Western Christianity and little to Eastern... The Eastern Orthodox Church is apt to be shadowy or even absent..." p. 11). In addition, he sets additional goals: to place Christianity in the context of world history, and to give the average Christian a clear sense of the fundamental beliefs of Christianity. Hence, he treats Christianity as part of the movement of ideas of which the Christian phenomena, never clearly defined, are sometimes the source (as in the case of Marxism) and sometimes the reaction (as in the case of Darwin and scientism). Finally, he seeks to break out of the Western frame of reference not only in his often perfunctory reference to the Orthodox but also in his treatment of third world Christianity and missiology.

While this book is a readable and enjoyable account of the growth of Christian phenomena, especially since Treadgold tries to relate parallel ideological or chronological Orthodox developments, he does little with East-West interaction. For instance, in his extensive treatment of the Reformation, he makes no note of the Orthodox reaction to reformed overtures in the mid-sixteenth century. He treats the Orthodox best when he treats them in parallel development, in contrast rather than in comparison. He mentions the post-revolutionary Russian Church and the conversion of a number of Marxist intellectuals, but makes no mention of their influence while in the diaspora on Western Christians, either theologically or ecumenically. In other words, some excellent synthetic opportunities are missed, but certainly any Orthodox reader will be thankful for even a paragraph that puts the disjointed Orthodox events within a larger Christian context.

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METROPOLITAN EMILIANOS TIMIADIS

RECEPTION, CONSENSUS, AND UNITY

Restoration of Unity: Concerns of the One and the Many

Any consensus, by definition, depends on the unanimous and catholic reception of an agreed statement of faith. Such being the case, consensus should be seen in the context of the communal or ecclesial character of the baptized. Nobody can pretend to interpret the mystery of his membership in the body of Christ if he relies exclusively upon his own judgment. He must confront his conclusions and interrelate them with the voice of the whole ecclesiastical community of the past and of the present. Each person is given certain gifts on account of the charismatic structure of the baptized; but there is a considerable amount of blessing bestowed upon him in the process of his growth within this eucharistic fellowship during his early life. Consequently, he is faced with community responsibilities. He is often invited to be active, *synodos*, to pronounce his opinion on basic problems related with the life of the Church. He is *synergos*. He participates in this growth of the body of Christ, investigating and analyzing affairs of general interest in theological debates. This is why he discerns the error from the truth, the false from the right, the heretical or schismatic element from the healthy and orthodox. Thus is expressed the true *koinonia* and sharing.

But whatever critical comments on bilateral theological agreement a person has to make, he cannot rely exclusively upon his subjective judgment, but must take account of the catholic continuity and consent throughout the history of the undivided Church. This principle, beyond any written definition, remains the criterion upon which the credibility of an agreement and the authenticity of a doctrine are to be detected and tested.

Any attempt to make a mental interpretation and a conceptual analysis of this consensus and affirmation escapes human intelligence. It is not a rational exercise. Rather, it is associated with, and draws its very vitality from, the ineffable mystery of the Church. Whoever insists on scrutinizing it risks emptying its mystery. While the Church is based on the respect of each member's contribution and free collaboration, and while the ministry is the expression of the free choice of the *pleroma*, nevertheless, its main feature comes from above—that is, from Revelation.

What we want to say, in other words, is that the Church, in pronouncing on this or that item through its synods, is not only influenced, as in a parliamentary system, by the opinion of the many. Its very nature is not

anthropocentric. It does not come from the people, but from another source, namely, the Spirit which dwells in its very center. Though, to a certain extent, the ministry is related to the choice of the electing community, a minister is still not simply a delegate of the congregation, but is sent to the community from above for its own benefit. Thus he draws his very authority from Christ. This is very important to remember so that we do not regard the congregation as the only group responsible for the government of the body of Christ. We must certainly invite them to various responsibilities, but we have to make clear what we understand by that co-responsibility. Otherwise we risk going beyond the proper limits of their authority.

In this very distinctive mark of 'ecclesiality' lies a real mystery as to the discernment of the truthfulness of a unity agreement and the veracity of a synod. God acts through men for men. The Fathers of an ecumenical synod openly said: "It is God who spoke through us, not we as human beings."¹ The Church is a mystery of communion, symphony, and unity. It is surprising that in the Nicene Creed, alongside the proclamation of the articles of faith in God, in Christ, in the Holy Spirit, we have the proclamation of the Church as One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic. "Πιστεύω...εἰς Μίαν, Ἀγίαν, Ἀποστολικήν, καὶ Καθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν..."

Although the reconciliation of two Christian communions (complete with agreed statements) is a cause for rejoicing, we must realize, if we look deeper, that it is only half way to the goal. It is not enough to stop with an otherwise impressive consensus achieved after lengthy and painful negotiations. What remains to be done—and this is essential—is ongoing confrontation of both partners with the global catholic faith which is the property of the universal, undivided Church of Christ. Any other agreement risks remaining an isolated, partial event. It will be sectarian, incomplete, even incoherent, as long as the agreed points do not correspond to the requirements of what was always believed in an unbroken continuity. A trans-confessional criterion is therefore needed as a point of reference if agreements are to go beyond the historically limited boundaries of particular Christian families. Restoration of unity implies the consent not only of the two bodies engaged but of the *holon*, the totality of Christendom. Cyprian of Carthage refers to this in his *De Unitate Ecclesiae* when he suggests to Montanists that their dispute is not simply a matter between them but a conflict of the ecclesia in general.

In order to reach this goal, it is necessary to rearrange many things. If one wants to admire the beautiful view of Mont Blanc, but there is a huge pine tree in his way, it is better to change his position than to cut the beautiful tree. As long as he stands in the same place, he will be deprived of this pleasure. He must go a little further on. The vision of a unified

1 Cyril of Alexandria, Letter 39; PG 77:181.

Church is certainly attainable provided that each body proceeds to an honest self-criticism and reexamination of its faith and practice in the light of the Apostolic *didaskalia*.

This oneness implies concord, consensus. It is God who reassembles human beings and helps them, through the Spirit, to maintain this unity in faith and in conciliar gatherings. Mystery of the Church, ministry and investigations into the truthfulness of a consensus are interrelated. Assuming that the Church is in the service of the people, she must watch carefully all new approaches of the Christian faith to meet emerging realities, to interpret and to answer problems raised by new situations or by the apparition of erroneous views. In this way, she does all that is possible in order to prevent any discord, to harmonize the expressed views and to articulate them for the growth of the whole community of the redeemed people of God. In such an effort, the ministry is seen as guaranteeing the authenticity of the expressed voices. It is also significant for the plan of God to accelerate the establishment of his Kingdom. The utmost inter-communal effort in this connection is the convocation of an ecumenical synod which responds, as the most supreme and authoritative body, to all controversial issues emerging in a given situation.

Such harmonization in a small restricted community must also be seen in light of the more general problem of the relationship between the local and the universal Church. If unity and symphony are the characteristics of the body of Christ in general, a particular group of Christians is not just a simple, fragmentary, detached part of the universal Church; it is not just a small, self-existing, autonomous piece. Nor can one say that the universal Church is the totality of local, heterogenous congregations. It is not the numerical size of the Church (or of an ecumenical synod) which constitutes the essence of its catholicity. If a local parish realizes fully and totally, the ecclesial mystery of communion and mission in a given place, then it justifies itself as being universal and one. This is why in every difficulty or perplexity as to the meaning of a particular teaching the local community does not rely upon the partial and unilateral opinions of theologians, but on the 'voice' of the Church, known through its ecumenical synod, transcending space and time. *Sentire cum ecclesiae* was the principle of all Christians throughout the ages. This is the reason why a local congregation organizes its life on the Eucharist and the Word of God, presided over by a minister who is sent by a canonical bishop. Furthermore, such a community is in communion with and open to other homogenous communities that express the same faith and order. It is not the common action of solidarity for the relief of human sufferings which shows the existence of consensus. *Orthopraxis* is not the only unifying element, because without *orthodoxia* all good diaconal actions may turn *magni passus extra viam*. Again, the full reciprocal communion between churches cannot exist in terms of *vestigiae ecclesiae* simply because in a certain body few catholic elements are discovered. Incompleteness and

inadequacy betray the urgency of filling the gap and of reaching the fullness of faith.

In a well-known verse (1 Tim 3.16), Saint Paul describes the content of the true *homologia*. The whole verse is in a hymnic style; it is a confession of faith. Each of the affirmations of this Pauline fragment is centered on the central soteriological problem: *τό τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον*. It is a real epiphany of Christ on earth, and from it we see that the whole of his incarnation seeks to keep his followers one, in one common voice proclaiming the redeeming action of this mystery. One can detect six aspects of this mystery:

Revelatus est = He is revealed in a body, *ὡς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί*.

Iustificatus est = His life is accomplished in the Spirit's justice.

Visus est = He appears to His messengers, *ὡφθη ἀγγέλοις*.

Praedicatus est = He is announced to the Nations, *ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν*.

Creditus est = He is received by faith in the midst of a hostile world, *ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ*.

Assumptus est = He is ascended in glory, *ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ*.

These aspects concern together the itinerary of Christ's saving *oikonomia*, his *katabasis* until his *anabasis*. The Logos became flesh in order to reveal his everlasting truth. We are therefore entrusted with a treasure. To keep its purity becomes our great responsibility. The Evangelion is not a human *didaskalia*. It is Logos incarnate, Christ's teaching. Such being the nature of our faith, we are not allowed to introduce any compromise or change for the sake of undisturbed co-existence and the peaceful arrangement of emerging differences. The early Church could not accept any compromise precisely because the truth cannot tolerate modification. Truth cannot be discussed or negotiated. Every time unity negotiation occurs, the attitude should not be to yield to the other's views without scrutiny or to seek mutual concessions for the sake of good relations. Such may be the solution for earthly-centered problems, but not for what touches our faith. Questions of agreements or disagreements should be confronted with the apostolic *didaskalia* of the undivided Church (unbroken in spite of all vicissitudes of time and history) and in the light of its continuity through conciliar decrees.² Errors certainly happened, but the Church in a given time did not close her eyes before them in order to assure a general peace and order in the country. Confessors and martyrs, paying the price with blood, preferred to hold untouched the given faith than to alter its content. In so many contemporary dialogues, this principle of integrity of the faith may seem too severe. But on the other hand, the faith is not a human invention; it is

2 This is the case of the Montanist conflict: "When the arrogant spirit taught the Montanists to blaspheme the whole Catholic Church, the faithful of Asia assembled themselves repeatedly in many places of Asia, tested the new doctrines, recognized them to be shameful, and condemned the heresy," Eusebios, *Eccles. History* 5.16.9-10.

Christ's property and heritage to be kept intact.

The Decian persecution of 249-250 made a burning issue of whether, and under what conditions, the large number of apostates could be restored. Cyprian of Carthage wanted to settle this question in a synod attended by as many bishops as possible and convened in the presence of the 'confessors.' This council met in Carthage after Easter, 251. The period after Easter thus became the normal time for these synods.³

Later, in the fifth century, Vincent of Lerins, a monk of Gaul, assigns, in his dogmatic treatise *Commonitorium*, an extremely important role to the conciliar decisions because they settle problems universally and authoritatively. This helps to explain the claim of Leo the Great that the first four ecumenical synods must be given the same credence as the four gospels. This idea became a medieval commonplace, even though Rome never recognized canon 28 of Chalcedon.⁴

The Church lives continuously with the tension between permanency and change, fluidity and fixity, renewal and stability. Certainly she has to adapt the faith to a given, emerging historical situation. She must always be proclaiming, in new terms, the same permanent message. We might describe this as a 'synchronic' necessity. At the same time, the Church has to keep, to safeguard unaltered, the substance of the faith, in spite of threats, contestations, confusing forces, and theological agitation. This is the 'diachronic' dimension of faith. Should we, therefore, change and introduce a new form of faith? Can an Orthodox prescribe to a different form from that which he traditionally holds? The answer is not easy, because if change happens a precedent is established. The scope of synods was to assure that renewal was not to be confused with error. The Nicene Fathers, in fact, 'changed' the Creed with their authority because the whole ecumene (with the exception of Arianism) was then one. For the first time East and West together agreed on doctrinal, disciplinary issues. Thus, it is a real 'reception.' It might be difficult to envisage a fully ecumenical synod in these days of disunity. We tend, from long force of habit, to regard the Creed as the unalterable standard of Christian belief. In A.D. 325, when the Synod of Nicaea was called, a creed was a matter for each individual bishop to draw up. A number of these creeds were read at the synod. That produced by Eusebios, the bishop of Nicomedia, so horrified the assembly that it was publicly torn up. That of Eusebios of Caesaria had the curious advantage of leaving out every reference to the point at issue, namely, the Arian heresy, and this led to his exile by the emperor.⁵

The Nicene Creed was a formula produced to meet a specific challenge at a specific time. We can see no reason why, given an adequate authori-

3 Cyprian, Epistle 17.3 and 41.2

4 *Commonitorium* 3.4, 27, 38: "universaliter antiquitus universalis concilii decreta."

5 *Vita Constantin* 4.27; PG 20:1176

ty, the Church should not do the same thing today, by *enlarging or explaining ancient terminology for modern understanding*. What will change in this case is only the shape and expression. Even if we assume that Arianism is no dead horse, a strong case could be made for altering the word *ousia* or 'substance.' Particularly for the western mind, this suggests something material, whereas it originally meant something more like the 'inner essence,' which was something immaterial. It would be misleading to describe such a process as 'changing the faith.' This would imply making a restatement and re-inforcement of fundamental belief. The truth is the only thing that is sacrosanct. The way in which one generation formulates its apprehension of truth is certainly not sacrosanct.

Saint Basil of Caesarea was conscious, in his days, of the danger of distorting the faith in view of the Arians. He wrote between 373-375 the famous treatise, "De Spiritu Sancto," in order to show that each faithful receives, according to the degree of his faith, certain energies from the Holy Spirit. This Spirit is ever present, available to all without discrimination, provided that one is pure in heart, receptive and within the flock of the eucharistic *koinonia*. This operation is similar to the sun whose rays shine to each one and to all at the same time, in all directions. One receives as much as if he were alone.⁶

Early authors were conscious that the new faith was not a mere sentimental movement of love. Christ's incarnation was intended to build, above all, the Church (Mt 16.18). Paul says that the mission of the Holy Spirit is to organize the saints into the body of Jesus (Eph 4.12). All those who have received the free gift of the faith are also invited to witness, by their words and deeds, to the Truth. In doing this, they have to face real frustration as they seek to interpret the Christian message. How, then, can we remove the major obstacles to unity? The whole problem of consensus should be seen not only in light of this deplorable contemporary ecumenical situation, but in a more general perspective. Reaching agreement has always been a painful enterprise for the Church. Each one thinks that he is right and subsequently wants to impose his own interpretation on others. Is there any universally acceptable principle which can determine whether a consensus, fashioned in a certain way, is the right one and acceptable or not? Our thoughts and approaches should take the model and the rhythm of the Trinity as a kind of *introductio in mysterium*, *analogia entis* as an *analogia trinitatis*. Thanks to such guidelines, faith has been able to resist heresy and safeguard unity. It is not true that early Christology was Hellenized in the debates of the Synod of Chalcedon. It was not the Greeks who made Nicaea, but, on the contrary, it was Nicaea which went beyond the Greek philosophers. A christology cannot be truly Christian unless it combines that 'from

⁶ De Spiritu Sancto 9; PG 32:108-109

below' with that from 'on high.' Only such a double way of approach proves that Christ is true man and true God-Logos.

This attachment to the *consensus ecclesiae* does not exclude at all new conciliar gatherings and further formulations of the inherited truth. Liberty of theological research is not excluded as contradictory to the work of the Church. The faith never remained static and monolithic in its linguistic form of expression. When needs appeared in different historical periods, the same truth has been reformulated, following faithfully the essence of the unaltered faith. What is changeable is the external form but not the very essence. Faith can be stated according to the personal language and particular experience, provided that this does not introduce strange and incoherent statements. Faith is not only what a particular group or a single person claims to be such. It must be in agreement with and adherent to the catholicity of the whole Church and the fullness of Christ. From the moment that one group begins to choose and eliminate from the core of the faith, heresy is born. If subjectivism is promoted to the highest authority, then disorder, anarchy, conflict, and chaos are introduced into the community of the Church. In a world such as ours, leaning always towards extreme innovations, we need a permanent basis if we are to avoid doubts, ambiguities and relativizations. Certainly, faith is not a monotonous, mechanical repetition. Creativity and originality are indispensable for believers in order that the everlasting faith can be shown to be meaningful and relevant for today.

But the faith would lose its identity if this new experience were not done in a true conciliar spirit within the unchanging faith of the Church. Only the totality of the Church retains the fullness of the faith. Each member lives to the degree that he participates in the integrity of the life of the whole organism. If one wants to appropriate the objective content of the faith, he can translate it, but not manipulate, erode or distort it. Pluralism can be easily reconciled with the oneness recorded in the ecumenical document. Any unilateral action, however, ignores the rule of unanimity, of conciliarity, of symphony. What will 'symphony' mean if there is no sharing, no co-responsibility, no 'chief of the orchestra?' Patristics always interrelate the unity of the Holy Trinity with that of the members of the Church on earth: *Christus totus, caput et corpus*. From this comes the Augustinian formula of the "*inseparabilis operatio Trinitatis ad extra*." Only with such a presupposition can an Orthodox reader understand the whole issue of reception and the importance of an ecumenical synod for clarifying the faith and for interpreting it to our uneasy world.

Ecumenical synods are so central in the life, worship, discipline, spirituality, and proclamation of faith, that they are incorporated in our liturgical year and have permeated into the very soul of an Orthodox. One can say that the Orthodox is a synodical, conciliar person. Synods do not simply replace administrative machinery through which church

leaders debate current issues in a parliamentary system. One can misunderstand the very meaning of a synod if one simply looks upon its exterior structure. Let me give an example. In 1981 we are going to celebrate the 1600th anniversary of the Nicene Creed and Second Ecumenical Synod (381). Many will praise its achievement and contribution in combating Arianism. For an Orthodox, such a synod is considered the backbone of our faith, a pneumatological gathering, a new Pentecost, affirming that the Holy Spirit was inspiring and animating this decision-making body. A synod is not just an ordinary venerable assembly, regional or universal, but is a holy and sacrosanctum concilium, “Ἁγία καὶ Ἱερὰ Σύνοδος.”

For early Christianity, it was not difficult to explain the practice of reception of an ecumenical synod. The churches, scattered throughout the Ecumene but holding the same faith, were regularly gathered in order to formulate the common faith or to solve disciplinary issues emerging from new situations and needs. The creedal conclusions, commonly known as “canons,” were communicated to the respective sister-churches either through their delegates or by canonical letters. Their reception and agreement was done without difficulties. After the synods, each church worked through the appropriate channels to implement the resolutions. If there are a few cases of serious reservations and non-acceptance, these were due to certain accidental, non-theological factors. This is the case of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod. In several parts of the Middle East the christological formulation of Chalcedon was not accepted by the followers of the Ephesos christology, not so much because of serious doctrinal divergences, but mainly because the churches being dominated by Byzantine forces retained a hostile attitude towards the conqueror and, thus, towards the Byzantine inspired christology.

The criterion of discerning the ‘orthodoxy’ of synodical resolutions was that synodical decrees ought to be in conformity with the conscience of the universal Church, with the ethos rooted in the worship and general discipline. An eloquent expression of the existing harmony and symphony is that such synods started their summons with a Eucharistic Liturgy. Participation in this Eucharist by all the delegates testified to their unanimity. These considerations are not altered by the fact that the early synods were summoned by the initiative and material aid of the emperor. What counts is the harmony and general consensus. Let us not forget, by the way, that no Ecumenical Synod was convoked by a pope, and no pope personally assisted in such a synod.

Speaking of reception in our age, one might ask how to proceed. In the present stage, inter-communion does not exist among us. Unanimity on basic soteriological or ecclesiological issues does not yet exist. We are still in the long process of seeking a better understanding of mutual theological positions. One difficulty is that the value and authority of a synod is not the same for an Orthodox as for other dialogue partners.

Synodical doctrine, in the form of synodical decrees, is for us the guarantee of the same faith transmitted throughout the centuries. For us, every synod is an authoritative official body, a guiding hand which enlightens and sustains us from any deviation or alteration of our beliefs. A great number of problems are, therefore, interrelated with reception.

Emerging Issues

Formulation and reformulation of faith by an ecumenical synod stems spontaneously from the living reality of active membership in the body of Christ. Believers living the mystery of their redemption without difficulty or sophisticated language, sooner or later will be forced to formulate their convictions in an appropriate way. In the early Church, each and every ecclesiastical community, or conciliar gathering, was confessing the same reality of Christ's saving action in prayers or confessions incorporated in their Eucharist. Worship was the forum for explaining the faith. If a challenge was raised, the answer was given in terms of the existing ecclesiastical reality. Today the situation is different. We are facing two alternatives. Either we are living the same reality but differ in our formulations because of our historical contexts, or we are living different realities and any attempt to have the same expression of faith will face grave obstacles.

We should note, in the context of ecumenical confrontations, that numerous problems remain unresolved. Often the context of the arguments is, for the most part, mutual mistrust and a determination to preserve each side's own point of view. Considerable confusion still results from each taking the other's statements and placing them in the context of their own system of thought without adequate attention to the basic differences of approach to theological thinking. Thus, the 'dialogue,' in reality, becomes two monologues. In the West, the main influence has been the passionate desire to form a harmonious, logical construction out of a number of apparently divergent texts, scriptural and non-scriptural. This kind of 'systematic theology' never took root in the East. At the same time, the Orthodox's tendency in theological controversy lay in their inability to see error except on the deepest level, as a distortion of the proportion of faith, or superficially, as a departure from the letter of tradition. This explains the constant conviction of the western theologians that they always win the disputations, and the conviction of the Orthodox that no western argument ever touches the heart of the problem. The conflict of method is independent of the question at issue, and indeed has a different history.

In all this, the underlying questions at issue are the legitimacy of different models and analogies for a developed Trinitarian theology, the adequacy of different theologies to preserve the Church from heresies (such as the subordination of the Son and the Spirit) and the legitimacy

of transferring terms from one frame of theological reference, where they make sense into a different frame of reference, where they produce an obvious imbalance or distortion.

Once this question arises (i.e., on what conditions will resolutions of a synod or of a dialogue be endorsed?), a legitimate question comes to mind: Who are the receivers and what will they receive? Who from the ordinary people can speak with authority and credibility and is able to discern and assess the truthfulness of this or that unity negotiation? Are they such learned people that they are able, as committed Christians and fervent churchmen, to express right opinions? On what solid basis can such unity negotiations or bilateral dialogues claim that they possess the criteria of credibility and have reached the fullness of faith so that two or more Christian families can declare a complete fusion? Most of the theological dialogues are still in an exploratory stage, turning around peripheric issues. They often avoid the basic constitutional conditions of sound ecclesiology and soteriology, or they focus on those elements which suit their tradition and theological position.

The people in the street, on the other hand, in this age of poor church attendance and membership, are not apt to pronounce a credible and reliable judgment. Nobody can rely upon their inadequate deliberations. There exists such poor theological interest and education among lay people that the burden of such responsible decision must fall upon the few clergy or theologians who specialize in these issues. Again, it is not a matter of numerical superiority; the majority voting system will not determine the orthodoxy of a synod or a theological debate. In the days when Arianism was at its height (when it was supported, scandalously, even by the Byzantine emperors), Orthodoxy was such a tiny, marginal minority that if the Orthodox had wanted to apply for membership in the WCC, I doubt that they would have been eligible because of their poor membership. The majority were the Arians. There is a parallelism in this situation. If today we were to ask the 'majority' of our nominal Christians about the issues involved in theological discussions, very few would be able to answer and give satisfactory solutions. Ignorance, apathy, inertia and religious anaemia prevail! We have to take into account this sad reality when we speak of reception. Such criticism does not diminish at all the royal priesthood of all believers and their valuable contribution for the growth of the body of Christ. But we cannot overlook things as they are. Only when the baptized faithful can express satisfactory views on fundamental issues concerning the march towards unity, can they be relied on to evaluate theological debates and to appraise unity negotiations. A crucial problem remains of involving a larger segment of laity in the dialogue process.

Reception or Rejection: Two Possibilities

There is a disproportionate euphoria and encouragement associated with

accepting the various agreed doctrinal statements of unity negotiations. Done in an ecumenical climate that seeks to cultivate reconciliation and forgetfulness of the past quarrels, these agreements seem, at first sight, to justify immediate reception by the parties concerned. What is at stake here is not the praiseworthy motivations or the sincerity of the participants. But we must also take into account the criteria by which such agreements are judged sufficient and by what they are seen to correspond with the requirements of the catholic faith of Christendom.

If an agreement is only fashioned within the limits of two confessional families, then the quality of this agreement is only partly sound and orthodox. What remains is for it to be tested beyond the narrow boundaries of doctrinal particularities, to be set alongside the true *didaskalia* inherited from the Apostles down to our time. The neglect of such authentic testing is partly due to alienated theological considerations which have appeared since the sixteenth century. The divisions and subdivisions that have occurred since that time have stemmed from the lack of permanent and sure authority. And yet, this basic presupposition of catholicity is trans-confessional and trans-historical. Not only the Western churches must apply this principle; even the Orthodox, when entering into all kinds of dialogue or into their Pan-Orthodox Great Synod, must refer constantly to such authority in order to assure that no false path is followed. In this regard, we find in Church history that even patriarchs can be removed from their high rank because they have expressed anti-orthodox views. It suffices to remember Eutyches the Monothelitest who was anathematized, and against whom Leontios of Byzantium wrote the *Libri III adversus Nestorianos et Eutychianos* (circa 543-544). Again, when Cyril Loukaris, Patriarch of Constantinople (1620), showed signs of deviation from Orthodoxy in connection with his controversial *Confessio fidei* as crypto-calvinistic, a synod at Constantinople (1638) condemned his positions. Two other regional synods at Iasi of Roumania (1642) and at Constantinople (1642) reconfirmed the disapproval of Loukaris' errors.

We cannot restrict the treatment of our problem only in terms of reception. The authenticity of a synod or theological debate does not depend exclusively on the positive or negative attitude of the people concerned. There are cases where the resistance or rejection is more salutary than reception of a synod. On the other hand, there are cases where the reception of a theological agreement is the only guarantee of its veracity.

It is also true that theological agreements may never be carried out in actual practice. Church history affords several examples in which doctrinal agreements were rejected for political reasons. Let us remember the intervention of the Byzantine emperor on the Monothelistic dispute.

Monothelitism, a seventh century heresy confessing only one will in the Christ-man, aimed to rally the Monophysites to their Chalcedonian christology at a time when division endangered the Empire. In 624 the

Emperor Heraklios produced a formula seemingly acceptable to both, a formula which asserted the two natures in Christ but only one mode of activity or energy. In 638, Heraklios drew up the *Ekthesis*, the chief document of the Monothelists properly so called, which forbids the mention of one or two energies and admits only one will in Christ. Pressure was exercised by the state to accept this error and many accepted it. But in 648 this document was replaced by the so-called *Typos*. In it both the monothelitic and the dyothelitic formulas were rejected. Again we see another pressure for imposition upon the conscience of the people. The controversy finally was settled by the Synod of Constantinople in 680 which condemned the decisions of a synod held at Rome in 679. The synod condemned the Monothelitic formulas and their adherents and proclaimed the existence of two wills in Christ, divine and human, to be the orthodox faith. Theologically, the issues at stake in the controversy were closely similar to those raised by Monophysitism.

We know how Athanasios of Alexandria (295-373), protagonist of the Nicene faith, dared to defend orthodoxy through the crucible of suffering. Persecuted, abandoned by his colleagues, he still wrote in 335 in order to refute Arius on the most important thesis of soteriology: "We should not have been redeemed, if God himself had not entered into humanity, hence, if Christ were not God." In spite of exile, loneliness and civil sanctions against him, he considered one thing above all else, the true faith, certain that he served Christ rather than earthly rulers. Such an attitude must not be characterized as fanatical. Athanasios simply saw the danger of defaming the inherent apostolic faith.

Some may assume that 'reception' means the active interest and formal involvement of the people of God in churchly affairs, but in reality this does not happen as one could expect. Never in church history have all believers been asked, one by one, to indicate their reaction, nor have the people generally been enthusiastic to intervene. Let us not, therefore, idealize the whole issue of 'reception,' by thinking that participation by all in the Church's decisions is realistic. Only a small number are ready to contribute and to react. Only few are active, able and interested in formulating a sound opinion. Such an attitude does not invalidate or alter the binding force of the decision-making body, because the authority of the decisions does not depend entirely on the number of participants. Here lies the whole mystery of the Church's nature and the divine-human character of the ministry. It lives in human conditions, takes human form and uses earthly methods; but, at the same time, it lives on divine ground going beyond human understanding. Here precisely is applied the word of our Lord: "Where two or three are gathered in my name, there I am also." And again his assurance: "I shall remain with you forever and Hades never will prevail upon you."

Indeed, there is a mystery behind this numerically weak participation of laity. Beyond any such human consideration, God, who remains the invisible Head, acts to inspire and safeguard the resolutions. Such was the case in many instances in the most critical moments of the Church. The few took courageous initiatives without counting the reaction of the flock. When Christ asked his disciples whom did they think He was, all of them did not answer. He was not waiting for a massive confession. Only one, Peter, spontaneously raised his voice and made the important confession which remains forever the most eloquent act of faith: "You are the Son of God, the Savior." Similarly, at precarious moments, a few godly persons, not wanting to lose time while dangers threatened the Church, took the appropriate actions, convinced that they were doing the right thing in the eyes of God and anticipating that their action would retroactively be endorsed and confirmed. In brief, we should not apply to the term 'reception' the norms used in our human realities.

In spite of certain moves towards conciliarity, Rome, even after its Vatican II Synod, still commits itself to the classical view of Rome's supremacy over other churches. Thus, on the matter of claims to infallibility, Vatican II is quite clear in reaffirming the declarations of Vatican I.⁸ Thus, the *magisterium extraordinarium* is distinguished from the normal functioning of the magisterium or teaching office. A second claim is to universal jurisdiction.⁹ The bishop of Rome, accordingly, claims a primacy of ordinary power over all the churches. Papal pronouncements, spoken *ex cathedra*, are free from error.

These two claims of infallibility and universal jurisdiction cannot find an echo in the practice and in the faith of the undivided Christendom, and not simply because of accidental differences in ecclesiastical organization and administration. Such a doctrine presupposes a view incompatible with patristic belief on the nature of episcopacy. To say, as does Vatican II, that one bishop is considered the sole successor of Peter, by divine right, and that he possesses power and authority over other bishops, can only mean that that bishop is ontologically different from all other bishops. This is contrary to the ancient teaching that each and every bishop possesses the fullness of the episcopate, the fullness of both the apostolic and petrine successions.

Let us not forget, in this respect, that the Holy Spirit invisibly builds and directs both the entire Catholic Church and each local church separately. No exclusiveness of his possession is permitted. It calls all for sharing and participating communion. It is God's Spirit undivided in working in the whole Church and undivided in its separate parts. Thus, we are taught by Saint Basil of Caesarea: "The Holy Spirit is in His wholeness in each part and undivided in His entirety"¹⁰ The same

8 *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church*, 3.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *De Spiritu Sancto*, 32.141.

Cappadocian Father states that the unbroken apostolic succession offers to the ecumenical synod, where are gathered all the shepherds, the unique authority, the certainty that they hold the kerygma of the Gospel.¹¹ In this connection it should be remembered that the apostolic tradition is also *ekklesiastike paradosis*. But every ecclesiastical tradition cannot necessarily claim to be apostolic tradition.

This faithful continuity from the disciples of Christ down the centuries is referred to by Gregory of Nyssa when he says that their successors did not keep the faith to themselves only, but they were transmitting it to their successors.¹²

Every time an ecumenical synod disapproved errors, it was conscious that it acted on behalf of all Christendom. Such is the case of the first of Nicaea: in its rejection of Arians, it is the Catholic and Apostolic Church which declares this sentence.

What we have to bear in mind in treating our subject is to put more emphasis on the ecclesiological consideration. It is an unknown practice in history to speak of 'reception' as an isolated case without pointing out its relation to, and its continuity with, what had preceded it. Conciliarity is not an isolated question. It is inseparable from all that constitutes the life of the Church, as a mystery and reality, as a dwelling of the Spirit of God who upholds all.

Our age suffers from an obsession with regard to the interplay of majority and minority voices. In every public affair, the people's opinion is counted to such a degree as to determine the fate of a nation or of vital social issues. But precisely this excessive confidence on an unstable and uninformed 'public'—a public which today shouts "Hosanna" and tomorrow "Crucify him"—shows the fragility of such criterion. The Church, although it follows attentively the currents of opinion, must not depend exclusively on such futile presuppositions. Adamantios (A.D. 295) has rightly noted the independent attitude of the Church in expressing the true teaching: "The Catholic Church upon the truth only, justly, piously and saintly runs its affairs. Those who have gone astray and fallen to error, they are far away from that truth, although in words pretending that they know the truth, but in reality rejected far from the truth."¹³

Saint Basil, writing in A.D. 373, states that the Church treats problems in the life of its believers by relying upon a consolidated *ethos* or *thesmos* transmitted to us by holy men.¹⁴ Such policy is easily understood by the very nature of human beings. What is regarded this moment as majority can easily turn into a minority. Likewise, the

¹¹ *Comment. on Isaiah* 5.172; PG 30:408.

¹² *Comment. on Cant. Cant.*, Sermo 1; PG 44:785.

¹³ *Dialgus de recta in Deum fide* 1.2; PG 11:1884.

¹⁴ *Epistulae ad Diodorum* 160.2; PG 32:624.

minority can, with clever manipulations, suddenly gain more followers, until it is the majority. Exactly because the Church is not a human-centered society, she formulates her decrees after awaiting guidance from above, by turning to Christ in critical moments of frustration and asking for the descent of the Holy Spirit. Taking into consideration the views of the congregation, *sensus fidelium*, is one thing. Pronouncing the last decisive word based on these views is another matter. Without ignoring the desiderata of the people, the responsible leaders of the Church must decide, in prayer and wisdom, for reception or rejection of doctrinal negotiations. The Church has never made important decisions on the basis of plebiscites and gallop polls.

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EMIDIO CAMPI

RENEWAL AS LIBERATION AND AS SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE FUTURE OF ECUMENISM— A PERSPECTIVE

I deem it a privilege to have been invited by the Hellenic College and Holy Cross Orthodox School of Theology to speak at this symposium in honor of the twenty years of the primacy of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos. Included in the invitation was also the topic on which I should speak, namely, "Renewal as Liberation and as Spiritual Development in the Future of Ecumenism." It is indeed a long topic. But you will allow me to add one more little word: "A Perspective." At first glance, perhaps, this addition suggests no more than conventional modesty: my way of seeing this is, after all, but one among many. Certainly, this is true. But it may also help to remind us that, while we may characterize the ecumenical movement we belong to and seek to serve as 'pluralistic,' we cannot so characterize our sense of perception. We cannot see things several ways at the same time. There is no such thing as a 'pluralistic perspective.' Yet the problem remains that when talking about a perspective we are working with a paradox. Without a perspective we do not see. With it we are irrevocably committed to interpreting realities in terms of our own experience. If I am going today to look at the present and the future of the ecumenical movement, I have no alternative but to view them from the perspective of my experience of having been on the staff of the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) during the last six years and a member of the Waldensian 'sect' which eight centuries ago was excommunicated and bloodily persecuted by the Inquisition.

Since its inception eighty-five years ago, the WSCF has had a peculiar ecumenical vocation. That vocation is no more and no less than the vocation of an explorer. Explorers do not take possession of the country to which they have been sent. Their job is to explore for those who have sent them. But as explorers they are entitled to the joy of discovery. The vocation of the Federation is then to enter fearlessly into the unexplored territories of the *oikoumene* and to pave the way for the settlers who follow at a distance. That is exactly what the Federation has been doing and what, I hope, it should continue to do. One concrete example may be allowed. The Orthodox Churches were not represented at the international Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 which is generally regarded as being the first historical manifestation of the modern

ecumenical movement. But the very next year the WSCF organized a world conference in Constantinople with the specific aim of breaking through the barriers of ignorance and misunderstanding which had kept East and West separated for many centuries and from entering into fellowship with Orthodox Christians. Surveying the delegates and observers who attended the conference, John R. Mott, the then general secretary of the Federation, asked: "When, since the early Councils, has there come together a gathering representing so nearly the entire Christian Church?" It is an open question whether Mott realized that it was this student meeting which was to provide the inspiration for the new development in contacts between Eastern and Western Churches which came to a head in 1925 in Stockholm and in 1927 at Lausanne. But historians of the ecumenical movement record the fact that at this meeting in Constantinople, people like Nathan Söderblom, the future Swedish archbishop; Bishop Germanos of Thyatira, the future exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarch in the West; and Nicolai Velimirovic, the future Serbian bishop, came to understand that it was part of their Christian vocation to prepare the way for an ecumenical movement in which the Orthodox Churches would take their full share.

I have not mentioned this episode in order to boast the Federation. My point is a different one. Just as there is less work to be done for the geographical explorer in the world today than there was in the world of yesterday, so it becomes more difficult to know exactly where and in what direction our ecumenical exploration should go. The adoption of the theme, "Christian witness in the struggles for human liberation," by the Sri Lanka General Assembly (1977) provides a clue—though by no means final—towards an understanding of the theological and political components of the Federation's ecumenical exploration. On the one hand, the concept of witness implies that the act of Christian presence in the world is not identifiable with any historical movement for liberation. On the other hand, in affirming the centrality of the struggles of the peoples for liberation, particularly in its political form, it places the locus of Christian witness inside the historical contradictions of our present world, and it proposes that in this context it must take the form of identification with the forces that seek liberation of peoples from the conditions of oppression which these contradictions create, maintain and expand.

I have mentioned my affiliation with the Waldensian movement also known as the 'poor of Lyon' or the 'poor of Lombardy.' Their protest marks, in an indelible way, the history of Western Christianity through the centuries preceding the rise of the Protestant Reformation. Walterus Map, the English Dominican inquisitor who questioned the Waldensians, in 1179 so described them: "*Multa petebant instancia predicacionis auctoritatem sibi confirmare...bini et bini circueunt nudipedes, nihil habentes, omnia sibi communia, nudi nudum Christum sequentes.*"

(They insistently request to receive the authority to preach...they go about in two's barefoot, owning nothing, holding all things in common, following naked a naked Christ.) Free preaching of the Word of God, voluntary economic poverty, and communal character of Christian life are the lessons of witness of my forefathers in the faith. This 'Waldensian heritage' has led me to the conviction that the symbols of biblical faith could reveal themselves even richer in significance if they could be looked at from the completely lay dimension of political involvement for and with the poor, and that only the end of the established Christianity in all its manifestations of secular power would restore some sense to the biblical message.

The specific remarks and proposals offered in this paper must be seen within the framework provided by these two components of my 'perspective.'

As we enter the last two decades of the twentieth century, how can we sum up the complex world situation today? What characterizes the liberation process on a world scale?

Everywhere we may throw even a brief cursory look—whether in the advanced capitalist countries, or in countries that have undergone socialist revolution, or, indeed, in the countries of the so-called Third World (Latin America, the Middle East, Asia and Africa)—there is great instability, an increasing suffering and uneasiness caused by gross economic and political inequities, and deep-seated feelings of disillusionment and frustration at the glaring failure of the ruling classes to solve old and new problems, to realize many of the great aims proclaimed.

Most of the symptoms I have mentioned are ones which, if effectively utilized, could be of unique assistance in boosting the liberation process against structures of injustice, exploitation, repression and domination. Yet the struggle of the oppressed peoples today is itself at a crossroads. The struggle for liberation today presents us more with problems than with certainties. There is no guarantee—as one could proclaim in the optimistic aftermath of the late 60s—that the 'law of history' will make light triumph over darkness. About this we must be very clear. If ever there was a time for serious reflection and stocktaking on the state and future of the liberation process, it is now.

There are a number of obvious reasons which explain the current situation. On the one hand, the world community has never been threatened so dramatically by the destructive character of economic development imposed by capitalism on a world scale. On the other hand, there have been sudden shifts and unexpected developments in the historic forces and organizations of the oppressed masses. I would contend that these are the two fundamental characteristics of the struggle for liberation in the last two decades of this century.

Let me say a few words about the question of the destructive character of economic development imposed by capitalism on a world scale. There are some solid reasons for calling it a destructive character! The 'Willy Brandt' international commission, composed by the best independent specialists in development problems and also some politicians, has just finished a two-year survey of world economic development. One may notice a clear change of attitude in these social scientists and economists who some years ago were very triumphant, who thought that capitalism could develop itself forever. The report shows that humanity is really paving its own destruction if in the near future nothing is done. The elements of the problem are fairly clear:

First, there is the question of poverty, or rather of the equitable distribution of the wealth. Poverty is not the real problem of the modern world. We could overcome it. The real problem—as President Nyerere put it—is the division of humankind into rich and poor and the appalling manner in which efforts to achieve economic justice are resisted by the rich and powerful minority (e.g., the failure of the two UN-declared Development Decades to approach their target, the failure of the UN Conference on Trade and Development in Manila, etc.).

Second, there is the demographic challenge. The exponential growth rate of population, particularly in the poorer parts of the world, means that around the year 2050 the world population should attain more or less twelve and one-half billion people. A world with twelve and one-half billion people—Is it possible to nourish it? Is it possible to house, to educate twelve and one-half billion people?

Third, there is the food problem. It has been estimated that up to five hundred million people on the earth today are suffering from hunger. We have celebrated the International Year of the Child with the appalling news that seventeen million children die every year because of starvation and malnutrition. Drought is killing human beings by the thousands in Africa, Asia and Latin America. During the Sahel drought, a phenomenon which has accidentally drawn attention to long-standing and disastrous imperialist policies, it is estimated that this region could have managed with one twentieth of the amount of wheat that many developed countries use to feed their cattle each year.

Fourth, there is the very complex question of exhaustion of the non-renewable natural resources. The alarming rate at which they are being depleted means that they are going to finish soon. In some cases, like petroleum, you can trace with some reckoning in which year it is going to be exhausted.

Fifth, there is the degradation of the natural environment of human life by pollution, erosion, and the various incidents in nuclear centers, etc.

There is another element which we must consider in our analysis of the present structures of injustice and which social scientists usually do not

consider—the political element. What kind of power is at the source of this situation? Why is there such an unequal distribution of resources? Why are there rich and poor nations? The world economy, its trade and monetary systems, continue to be controlled by restricted oligarchies. They maintain virtual hegemony over raw materials, markets and a practical monopoly over manufacturers, capital, and services. Unrestrained by any significant national or international control, these oligarchies (i.e., the trans-national corporations) manipulate the multiple mechanism whereby the wealth of the poor countries is transferred away from them, thus chronically aggravating the indebtedness of underdeveloped countries to industrialized ones.

The last element to consider is the military power. What is the real force behind, for example, the US Army or Nato? Who knows what forces lie behind the Soviet Army? Is Carter controlling the Pentagon or is the Pentagon controlling Carter? Who knows the real budget of the Soviet or US Army? These types of questions have just begun to be raised. Very little knowledge is present. And yet this is an element of power which is the most menacing of all.

Although somewhat discouraging, it is worth noting that while such dangers of destructive development are being warned against by a minority of scientists and publically discussed in the USA, Japan, and Western Europe, they do not seem to be taken into consideration in the socialist countries which are excessively conditioned by competition with the capitalist world (as in the case with the USSR) or by the exigencies of modernization (as in the case with China) as they are anchored to a nineteenth-century idea of progress through science and technology. But in the West, as in the East, the restricted groups which govern the economy and make the decisive choices in the political and military camps seem structurally incapable of grasping the actual dilemma of survival. The “rationality according to the purpose” which Max Weber recognized in the capitalist enterprise, shows itself to be utterly irrational in the current competitive strategies of economic oligarchies. There is growing awareness among many who are sensitive and sufficiently informed to realize that the goals of society, as we now conceive it, are irrational and perverse, and so in need of thorough revision if there is to be a continuation of the human race on our planet beyond a few generations.

Sudden Shifts and Unexpected Developments in the Historic Organizations of the Oppressed People

Reflecting as people concerned with the process of human liberation so that economic and social justice shall replace the present oppression and inequity and considering the prospects which were briefly outlined, we cannot escape the following questions: Why are the progressive forces all over the world in an impasse? Why are they in most cases not successful

in the present in acting in a creatively new way so as to rally the masses around them and bring them from the widespread and strong individual feelings of frustration to collective historic processes of liberation?

The thesis has been seriously advanced that the 'crisis of socialism,' or perhaps of a certain type of socialism, bears major responsibility for the dangerous impasse of the liberation struggle today. For more than a century socialism has been associated with a theory of social change which did not wish to furnish merely a better explanation of existence, but make itself a practical instrument capable of uniting diverse social forces and engaging them in a process of democratic transformation of society. This was precisely the point of dispute between the young Marx and the philosophers of the 'Hegelian left': "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it." For more than a century socialist practice has been a very fertile field of personal and collective creativity, of acquisition of a general, practical, and historical sense of living. The awareness of bringing about qualitatively new changes in society has directed and inspired the actions of millions of people. "I am for socialism because I am for humanity. We have been cursed with the reign of gold long enough. The time has come to regenerate society—we are on the eve of a universal change"—so could the great union leader, Eugene V. Debs, say in 1894 while running for the presidency of the United States from a prison cell.

Today, this sign of hope for some, of fear for others—depending on the different points of view—seems highly questionable. And this is not only, or not primarily, because of the violation of human rights within the Soviet empire (even this could somehow be justified by the demands posed by the competitions against imperialism on a world scale), but because, ironically enough, world peace seems to be threatened mostly by the rivalry between the USSR and China, by the wars between communist countries in Southeast Asia and in the Horn of Africa, by the disconcerting Russian intervention in Afghanistan, and by the problems of the 'post-Tito era' in the Balkans. It cannot be said that this is a problem of the Soviet Union and the communists only. When the avalanche comes down, it often rebounds to the other side of the valley from which it fell.

A careful examination of the situation gives rise to many questions. During the last decade or so the prevailing attitude was, in one way or another, inspired by the search for political solutions to deal effectively with the overwhelming and pressing problems of humanity. Today this trust has cracked. Many examples could be cited in all climes and cultures. But the 'crisis of politics' is best exemplified by the new generations where the widespread feeling of disillusionment brings in its trail such reactions as withdrawal into individualism and private life, use of drugs, increasing cases of suicide and the spreading of terrorism. On what ground, for example, can this suicidal generation refer to the need

to build a world community when there are only nations warring against each other? Who will have the authority and the credibility to convince the youth of the world that the struggle for liberation, peace, justice, and equity is very much their struggle and that their participation can make a real difference in the outcome? On what basis do we affirm that socialism can and does produce results which, however imperfect, constitute the difference between chaos and order, or even in extreme circumstances, between destruction and peace?

To be sure, none of these considerations is intended to reinforce any desire to withdraw from participation in the struggle for liberation or any tendency to go back on Christian involvement in the conflict, uncertainties and struggles of the world. Rather, it is an attempt at realistically wrestling with what men and women actually suffer and hope with a proper self-awareness of the presuppositions they are using for their analysis and behavior.

When the search for individual identity and satisfaction of private needs does not involve only small privileged groups but large masses, it would be foolish, besides being scarcely productive, to dismiss it as a form of alienation or escapism. The current forms of retreat into personal life are at the same time functional and dysfunctional to the *status quo*. On the one hand, they represent an attestation of impotence before the objective power of the system. On the other hand, this search for a minimum amount of identity of the social subjects is found in opposition to, and in protest against, the structures and the powers which make them objects. In the face of this situation it would be illusory to think of having recourse to old models of revolutionary aggressiveness. The reconstruction of political awareness which could lead to involvement in the struggles for liberation can only be accomplished through a patient and exhausting expansion of democratic practices in every sector of human life and, therefore, in a different use of individual and collective time and intelligence. This is certainly not possible without a dialectic which poses the antitheses and clarifies the alternatives. But it is necessary to remember that a dialectic is a process of dialogue and knowledge which cannot take place when people are silent and only the guns speak.

The question to be asked is: What will be the attitude of the ecumenical movement with all its ramifications in this historical moment? There are two possible attitudes. We shall call them the tactical and the prophetic attitude. The former is the attitude of seeking a decent niche, an acknowledged function within the unprecedentedly alarming crisis facing humanity today by meeting on a pragmatic basis its most urgent demands. With this perspective one shall look upon the present crisis from the point of view of survival of the ecumenical movement, of its possible consolidation *coram mundo*. The latter is to recognize that

the survival of the ecumenical movement is not the central issue. The central issue is the witness which we are called upon to bear in words and deeds in this particular moment. With this perspective the central interest is fidelity, an always renewed vocation which obliges us to make some choices. Indeed, if we look upon the situation of Christianity, it is hard to resist the impression that a choice is inevitable.

On the one hand, we observe the persistence of a traditional understanding of the role and mission of the Church in terms of the proclamation of salvation which emphasizes the perils of mixing up faith and social responsibility and insists on personal salvation. Unfortunately, what this tendency fails to realize is that the universal message of salvation can neither be reduced to the preservation of individual souls nor limited to the life of small groups. While this attitude has characterized the Christian churches through the ages, it has a new special importance today. Indeed, if the critics of religion of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could put their searchlight on the world of the last quarter-century, there would be but few occasions for amazement. They would see a vigorous and triumphant Roman Catholic Church re-proposing the theme of a universal humanism subordinate to the ethical legislation of the official Church. The fatherly characteristics which mark the gestures and messages of Wojtyla have restored, in diverse ways, a very traditional image of the papacy and helped to further a great deal of ecclesiastical triumph. They would see the major imperial powers of the world swamped with revivalist meetings of the worst Protestant tradition. They would see the widespread pilgrimage to the Orient of large masses of youth seeking new forms of spiritual direction and techniques of meditation.

On the other hand, we observe the tendency towards rapprochement of divided Christian churches in the framework of a new understanding of the relationship between faith and social responsibility. The signs of this gradual rapprochement are varied and not always univocal, but it is worthwhile mentioning some of them:

(1) The growing influence of non-Western expressions of faith combined with a growing commitment to social justice. We are beginning to break away from the idea that theology is done only in central Europe and then exported to the rest of the world, sometimes straight from the Old Continent, but usually through the filtering down and simplifying process of moving across the Channel to England or Scotland. Now the winds are blowing from a slightly different direction. We are hearing the sounds of creative thoughts in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East, determined to discover the significance of Christian faith in their own unique historical experience of the struggle for liberation.

(2) The increasing openness and willingness of Orthodox Churches and theologians to give attention to questions related to social changes in the direction of justice for all humanity, or to raise issues that touch the

heart of human survival (for example: disarmament, cooperation among peoples, etc.).

(3) The strong and increasing commitment of the WCC to "hear the cry of those who long for peace, of the hungry and exploited, of the victims of discrimination." And this is not an option peculiar to the WCC alone. Other international, regional or national ecumenical organizations share this concern and are searching for a new pattern of civilization.

(4) And last but not least, the numerical growth and geographical expansion of the debate, "What is Christian responsibility today," at grass root levels: local parishes, team ministries, lay academies, etc. It is most likely that in the next months or years there will be a sharpening of contrasts between these two fronts in which Christianity seems to be polarized today. We would be indulging in useless abstraction if we did not recognize now the significance of what may lie ahead. We cannot fail to reckon the effect on Christian witness throughout the world in general and on the ecumenical work in particular, if the global balance tips against the progressive front.

Throughout its existence the main effort of the ecumenical movement has been to inspire Christian churches to recover unity in a renewed faith and to engage in the struggles of peoples all over the world for the realization of their self-expression and participation in the human community. Today this contribution is urgent and needed as never before. But the validity and flavor of this contribution stands or falls not on grounds of past prestige or abstract declarations, but on whether or not the various hypotheses of Christian witness (which are emerging and putting their candidature to the spiritual leadership of the ecumenical movement) will meet the specific historical challenges of our time. I shall briefly endeavor to outline them, and I apologize to those people concerned if for the sake of schematization I use facetious or inaccurate terms.

(1) *The Crucible of a New World Community*. For a number of people the only real chance for the churches today to be credible in their witness is to reach unity in faithful communion in sacraments and ministry and agreement about joint acts. In a divided world based on structures of inequality and where political forces seem no longer capable of coping with present-day problems, a united Christian church could show the way forward into the future. The task of the ecumenical movement is to call the churches to go beyond confessional walls and to become the crucible where a new world community can be molded. The instrument of this hypothesis could be the 'conciliar fellowship.'

(2) *The Golden Island in a Leaden Time*. In a time of crisis such as ours, it is inevitable that for some people—and particularly young people—the idea of forming interdisciplinary, intercultural, interreligious communities has an attractive force. Thirst for renewal takes them beyond the boundaries of the established churches. The feeling is that

all too often churches separate prayer, meditation, and worship from the life of action and service. A recent consultation sponsored by the WCC sub-unit on "Renewal and Congregational Life" has shown a surprising variety of ventures the world over in the quest for community. From such communities, new insights and new patterns of Christian presence are emerging which could have a prophetic role in the years to come. The instrument of this hypothesis could be an interdisciplinary, intercultural, interreligious community of people who live together and are engaged in common study/reflection and action programs.

(3) *By My Deeds I Will Prove My Faith.* Others hold the idea that for an effective Christian presence in society this is the time to be silent, a time to pray and to practice justice. An authentic and authoritative world will be born and reborn not from dogmatic statements, but only from prayer, renewed liturgical life and a clearly defined program of action in favor of the poor, the oppressed. To pray and to contribute to development programs, to fight world-wide racism, to plead for human dignity, to promote the spirit of solidarity in political affairs, to render medical services, to face many acute emergencies—these, for a time, are the only things which we are called upon to do as Christians and which could create the pattern for a new-way-of-being church in the world. The instrument of this hypothesis could be a Christian service agency.

(4) *The Post-Constantinian Christian Community.* This hypothesis presupposes the end of the Christian world as inherited from the Constantinian synthesis of church and state. It proposes a new type of Christian community—a community which is no longer constituted according to the traditional patterns (parishes, clerical and bureaucratic machinery, centralization of theological research, etc.). Rather it is constituted on the basis of an individual choice and mutual recognition on the part of participants. This community includes, as an essential element, individual and corporate responsibility in the people's movement. The instrument of this hypothesis could be a network of believers taking an active role in the political, social, and cultural life of the people around them.

(5) *Witness of the Gospel in the Struggle for Liberation.* This hypothesis expresses a dialectical relationship between the witnessing of the Gospel and the struggle for liberation: faith is not dissolved in political action, nor does the struggle for liberation exhaust Christian faith. It affirms the need for worship and spirituality, the sense of responsibility vis-à-vis the churches and their spiritual renewal; it aims at forming a new type of Christian community which participates in the difficult but not utopian task of building a new society, and at the same time confesses Jesus Christ as the Lord of history. One could add that this hypothesis assumes that out of the dialectic between God's word and political action in favor of the oppressed, the spark of witness will dart. The instrument of this hypothesis could be a 'confessing community.'

Obviously, the hypotheses which were schematically listed do not exist in isolation from, nor are necessarily exclusive of, each other. The main question, however, remains: Which of these hypotheses or which group of hypotheses will set the tone of our witness in the next years? The type of presence which we shall have in the present historical moment will depend upon the answer we shall give to this question: Of these hypotheses we identify, which of them determines the life of our churches, and which deserves special attention because it is more congenial to our situation, tradition and vocation? But if we are to seize the *kairos* that is facing us, we must not only compare our different ideas, but also assess critically our different practices because today, as never before, people are suspicious of empty words and want to know what one is actually doing to solve the problems of humanity.

Whoever has a minimum of faith knows that the Lord has led the way and traced out the paths of the ecumenical movement in the past. This is sure. What is not sure is whether we shall be able in the future to do God's will in theory and practice. Our time, both unjust and leaden, makes this question more painful. Therefore, concluding these introductory remarks, I should like to remind you of the biblical narrative of the 'covenant of Schechem' (Jos 24). Here we are shown a mere handful of disbanded Israelites on whom the time of forced labor in a strange land and the agonies in the wilderness have left indelible traces. Before them lies Canaan, where they could, of course, be easily lost. Joshua, after describing the fulfillment of the promises of God, appeals to them: "Choose this day whom you will serve." This is an appeal to all believers to search untiringly for the obedience to God's will. But among believers somebody should also say, like Joshua, "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord," i.e., whatever development may be, we shall concentrate our energies on the question of fidelity and witness. The ecumenical movement can do without many things, but without this willingness of Joshua it cannot go forward. It should be aware of the appalling difficulties existing, but also of the immense possibilities. This is not cheap optimism, but the joyous assurance of Christian faith. It is a matter of being sure that as the Lord led the ecumenical movement in the past, so will He also lead it in the future. Indeed, He is already leading it now. We shall realize it later, but not too late.

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to read and study.

Stanley Samuel Harakas
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

Science and Our Troubled Conscience. By J. Robert Nelson. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980. Pp. 192. Paper \$6.95.

Written as a personal response to, and involvement with, the issues which were addressed by the M.I.T. 1979 WCC Conference on "Faith, Science and the Future," this book is a very useful introduction to several of the chief issues modern society faces today.

It is a book which takes seriously the immense importance of science and technology for the future of humanity. It also takes, with equal seriousness, the importance of the religious—particularly, Christian—contribution to that future.

The first three chapters of the book provide the reader with a wholesome focus on the relationship of science and religion by a man who not only has done his reading, but who is sensitive to the wide-ranging human dimensions of this relationship. The first chapter focuses on science and technological development and attitudes. The second moves to the relationship of science and religion. The third is a theology of nature and, by extension, the human use and abuse of nature.

The main feature of this discussion is the clear unwillingness of the author to see any dualistic division of scientific and theological interests. There is an almost Chalcedonian formula which neither identifies, nor confuses the two in this approach. And the focus is on the single reality—can one say hypostasis?—with which they relate. Just as the Chalcedonian formula of Christology does not resolve the mystery, Nelson does not resolve the difficulties and ambiguities. But the chastened minds of many scientists and even more theologians will find that such a position rings true.

The last three chapters address some of the most perplexing and difficult to resolve scientific, technological, moral, and spiritual questions (all part of the very same issues) in the same even-handed, honest, and realistic manner which characterizes the first part of the book. Chapters four and five are devoted to bioethical concerns, the ethical questions related to the genetic revolution and to the "dilemmas of conception." The final chapter deals with the many problems related to energy use.

Not a textbook, not a tract, not a chronicle of views, not a propaganda piece, this book is an understandable introduction for the careful, intelligent, and thoughtful approach by Christians to some of the dominant forces of our times. This is a good book to begin an inquiry into the issues of our day from an informed, balanced, careful, and thoughtful

perspective. It is definitely worth the reading. More than the author's private views, much of the normative content reflects on the status of thinking of the WCC, though it should not be read as a WCC document.

Stylistically, it is generally well written in a way which makes its points readily understood. I will guess that its readers, however, will be sharply divided over Nelson's penchant for the pun and the frequent turns of phrase on the 'cute' side, e.g., "Does the End Justify the Genes?" For some readers such puns and statements may provide a needed respite from the seriousness of the matters under discussion; for others they will probably cause reactions of impatience.

Nelson's use of theology is of particular interest to Eastern Orthodox readers. Nelson is very widely and ecumenically sensitive. Not a doctrinaire promoter, it is clear that the author's theological stance is in the mainstream of historic Christianity. In several places he draws upon Eastern Orthodox perspectives with decisive emphasis. Most conspicuous is his use of the insights in Paulos Gregorios', *The Human Presence*. Nelson concludes his book with a reference to the views of the Greek Fathers on the energies of God as related to a vision of "A New Kind of Human Society."

In the end, the book does not 'provide answers' in some sort of prescriptive fashion. But it is no mere catalogue of conflicting views, either. There is a stance presented, fully sensitive to the difficulties and ambiguities. It takes full cognizance of the reality of 'science and the troubled conscience,' but does so from the perspective of a centered Christian conscience, which is essentially hope-filled and critically optimistic.

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Συμβολή εις τήν μελέτη τοῦ βίου καί ἔργου τοῦ Ἰωάννου Μαυρόποδος.
[*A Contribution to the Study of the Life and Work of Ioannes Mauro-*
pous]. By Apostolos Karpozelos. Ioannina, 1979. Pp. 277 + Indices.

It is unfortunate that this is a mimeographed private publication and not a printed commercial one which would allow more scholars and institutions to read it. A keen future historian of our era will sadly notice some decades from now how this book eloquently reflects the signs of our time, a time when support for serious scholarly publications in the humanities is scarce. It may appear to "have little social redeeming value"—the most absurd misconception ever fabricated! The same historian, however, will certainly praise the quality of scholarly investigation, the serious style, the carefully articulated theses, the meticulously balanced evidence demonstrated in the same era by this

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VASILIKI LIMBERIS

SYMBOL AND SANCTIFICATION: AN ORTHODOX CRITIQUE OF ZWINGLI

"It is the spirit that gives life, the flesh is of no avail."

John 6:63

"I do not worship matter, but the Creator of matter, who became matter for my sake, who assumed life in the flesh, and who through matter accomplished my salvation."

Saint John of Damascus, *De Fide Orthodoxa*

On True and False Religion was written very quickly during the first three months of 1525, so that the author, Ulrich Zwingli, could rush it to the printers. He wanted King Francis I of France to read it as soon as possible. Zwingli, as with most of the Swiss, was very politically minded; and to persuade Francis of the true faith might help insure protection for the new "non-Roman" Christians. False religion, which in Zwingli's definition was that of Rome, was superstitious, as opposed to a just and true faith derived from the Bible.¹ This treatise indicated to all his theological position. Religion in *On True and False Religion* is treated in dynamic terms. It has been called the first Reformed dogmatics and is regarded by many Zwingli scholars as the reformer's principle work.² The three hundred page treatise is a fine blend of dogmatic presuppositions and ethical opinions. Since this work is the most comprehensive of all of Zwingli's writings, it serves as an excellent source to discover the proper meaning of "symbol" and "sanctification" within his theology.

"Symbol" within the long continuum of Christian tradition has gone through a variety of apologies, definitions, tracts, and summas. Yet it is very difficult to understand anything of Christianity without knowing the particular use of the word in a certain context. This is particularly true of Zwingli's reformed Christianity. One of the purposes of this study is to briefly show the evolution of the meaning of the word from Eastern and Western patristic usage to its meaning in Zwinglian terminology. The reason one must delve into the Fathers' usage is that Zwingli himself quotes them in this treatise.

"Sanctification" is the other word that must be understood in order for a person to comprehend Zwingli's vision of Christianity. It is necessary to know how man receives the Holy Spirit from God, and how man

1 G. R. Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 204.

2 J. Courvoisier, *Zwingli: A Reformed Theologian* (Richmond, 1963), p. 42.

responds to the gift of the Spirit. This can be viewed as the two-fold movement of salvation. In Orthodox theology this is elaborated especially well in the writings of Saint Maximos the Confessor. He speaks of the reciprocal relationship between the Incarnation of the Word, the second person of the Trinity, and the deification of man. How does this two-fold movement exist—or should it exist—for Zwingli? Are symbol and sanctification closely allied in his theology? Up until the Reformation they were. In Zwingli's vision of the true faith they were not. Yet this was not as violent a disruption of the traditional view as one might think, rather it was the dynamic outcome of the entire process which "symbol" had been undergoing in the West for as many as seven centuries. When the meaning of these terms is made clear, so too will be the tension between realism and symbolism, liturgy and private prayer, and the senses and the spirit. Therefore, it is necessary to briefly look into "symbolism" from the Fathers through Scholasticism, the Italian Renaissance humanist, Pico della Mirandola, who influenced Zwingli, and Erasmus. Then Zwingli's own view, both in theory and in praxis, will be discussed with regard to *On True and False Religion*.

In the eighteenth chapter of *On True and False Religion* Zwingli quotes some of the Fathers. Among them are Origen, Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, and Saint Hilary. He does this to defend his interpretation of the Eucharist, which briefly is as follows. The natural body of Christ is not present in the Eucharist. The partakers only eat the body and blood of Christ "in a spiritual manner" which is equivalent to trusting with heart and soul upon the mercy of God through Christ.³ Indeed his quotes form a very persuasive argument. It seems apparent, however, that Zwingli was interpreting their language in light of post-Scholastic thought. In his *Contra Celsum* Origen remarks, "We give thanks to the Creator of all, and along with thanksgiving and prayer for the blessings we have received, we also eat the bread presented to us; and this bread becomes by prayer a sacred body, which sanctifies those who sincerely partake of it."

Indeed, this reflects more or less Zwingli's interpretation, yet such passages do not exclude the literal interpretation which he gives on other occasions. Origen expressly states that the blood of Christ can be drunk in a two-fold manner, namely "sacramentally" and "when we received His life-giving words" (*In Num. Hom.* 16.9).⁴

The Eucharist did not receive such close attention from Saint Augustine. He often spoke of this sacrament, before all as an orator and mystic, chiefly desirous of stressing the spiritual profit to be drawn from the doctrine explained. From this it has been too hastily concluded that

3 H. W. Pipkin, *The Nature and Development of the Zwinglian Reformation to August 1524* (Ann Arbor, 1969), Appendix 2.

4 J. Quasten, *Patrology*, 2 (Utrecht, 1953), p. 86.

he denied the real presence.⁵ But the evident symbolism of his phrases in no way excludes the reality of the Eucharistic presence, and on the other hand this reality is implied in many of Saint Augustine's allegorical passages, for instance in these numerous passages in which he affirms "the traditional equation of the bread to the Body and of the wine to the Blood of Christ" (*Enarr.* in Ps 98.9). Yet in this passage Augustine speaks of "something sacramental which will give you life."

According to Jerome the blood and flesh of Christ are to be understood in two ways. There is that spiritual and divine flesh and blood, of which he himself said, "My flesh is really food, and my blood is really drink, and unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood you will not have eternal life."⁶ Jerome points out that there was also the crucified flesh of Jesus Christ, and the blood which "poured out under the soldier's spear."⁷ How one chooses to understand Jerome's "really" is left open. Zwingli uses Jerome's work and authority to combat the Medieval opinion that the *words* were the essential aspect of the Eucharist and not the life. In Zwingli's quote of Jerome he uses the "Lord's blood" to this other argument.⁸ Here he is not very consistent in his examples, since he does not take into account both of his arguments.

Finally, Zwingli cites Hilary in his defense, "for the sacrament of the bread of heaven is received in faith in the resurrection, and whoever is without Christ shall be left fast as far as the food of life is concerned." Yet Hilary also says, "Christ gives evidence of the nature of our life in him through the sacrament of the flesh and blood imparted to us."

The Fathers really never give any systematic interpretation of the sacraments. When they are explained, it is in the context of their actual *liturgical* celebration, the explanation being, in fact, an exegesis of the liturgy itself, in all its ritual complexity and concreteness.⁹ The Fathers and the whole early tradition know no distinction and opposition between "symbolic" and "real." To them symbolism is the essential dimension of the sacrament, the proper key to its understanding. Saint Maximos the Confessor calls the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist σύμβολα, images, ἀπεικωνίσματα, and mysteries, μυστήρια. In fact in certain passages he insists on the symbolic aspect of the Eucharist.¹⁰

According to Saint Augustine one begins the quest to understand *some* of the mysteries when faith has been well-established. One must believe not in place of understanding but before one understands. "Fides si non

5 H. Cayré, *Manual of Patrology* 1 (Paris, 1935), p. 707.

6 H. Bettenson, *The Later Christian Fathers* (London, 1977), p. 189.

7 Ibid., p. 189.

8 U. Zwingli, "On True and False Religion," *Works of Huldreich Zwingli*, ed. G. W. Heller, 3 (Philadelphia, 1929) p. 245.

9 A. Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World* (Crestwood, 1973), p. 137.

10. R. Bornoert, *Les Commentaires Byzantin de la Divine Liturgie* (Paris 1966), p. 117.

cogitur, nulla est." Revealed truth is at first a dogma, in the sense that the spirit receives it—without having disputed it—on the authority of Christ's Church which is the very voice of God, but this dogma is a *mystery*. For, if the mystery is essentially obscure to our senses, it is a sign, a calling. It invites us. Through the sign we come to the thing itself, "to the nourishing reality."¹¹ "Let us nourish the inner man with spiritual understanding" (*De sp. et litt.*).

Briefly, if for a moment we translate Augustine's thought into our language, we say that for him every mystery, that is to say every revealed truth, is a sacrament, a sign which makes everything a sacrament, meaning every sacred rite is itself a mystery, full of truth to understand.¹²

In the Eucharist, as in Scripture, Augustinians thought that everything is full of mystery, that is, full of reason. "Plena mysterii, plena rationis" (*Florus Ex miss*). One must always remember the idea of the "intelligence of the faith," which was the "soul of all Augustinianism."¹³

Anselm worked to transform "la vérité crue en vérité sue" (believed truth into known truth) as Saint Augustine had done, but neither the process nor the result were the same. The "intelligence" according to Anselm was not contemplative but demonstrative; and divine light led one to see and understand. Through his emphases on dialectic and proof, Anselm announced a new era, "Christian rationalism." Through the various changes in perspective, the clear result was a devaluation of "symbol."¹⁴ Augustinian theology consisted of the consideration of "signs" and "things"; those "signs" soon were eclipsed.

The Fathers' use of *symbolon* (sign), is not vague, or imprecise, or non-intellectual; it is simply a different way of looking at and interpreting the Divine Economy. "Symbolical" in their interpretation is not only not opposed to "real," it actually embodies the very expression and mode of manifestation. The difference is in the apprehension of the world itself. If, for the Fathers, symbol is a key to sacrament, it is because of the world in which all sensible creatures are real and holy signs.¹⁵ The whole world is symbolical—"signum rei sacrae" in light of its being created by God. The world's symbolic nature belongs to its ontology. The symbol is the way to perceive and understand reality, and more importantly, a way to participate in it.¹⁶ The natural symbolism of the world makes the sacrament possible and constitutes the way to its understanding and apprehension.

11 H. De Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum* (Paris, 1949), p. 259.

12 Ibid., p. 260.

13 Ibid., 263.

14 Ibid., p. 274.

15 Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World*, p. 139.

16 Ibid.

Thomas Aquinas does not reject the "symbolical world view" of the earlier tradition; he does, however, radically change the understanding of the "signum." For example, in the patristic tradition there is sign X, and that which it signifies, Y. X does not mean Y, nor cause Y, nor represent Y. X *is* Y. The whole of X expresses, communicates, reveals, and manifests the "reality" of Y, *without* necessarily representing the whole of it (Y), or losing its proper existence (X).

Precisely this relationship between X and Y was changed. When knowledge became rational and discursive, a hiatus developed between X and Y. The knowledge which X and Y communicated was no longer knowledge "of" but knowledge "about."

The concept of sacrament-mysterion after having dominated for a long time sacramental theology had to fade away. It is certain that it made *a priori* impossible any precise analyses of the notion of sacrament. In fact sacramental theology could make no progress as long as that notion was at its center.¹⁷

Thus the sacrament was isolated from its liturgical context. In many cases it actually began to oppose liturgy. One can read the elaborate treatment of sacraments in the *Summa* without learning about their liturgical celebration. Knowledge and participation—epiphany—are from then on totally divorced from each other.

If sacrament is not symbol, then what is it? Post-patristic theology answered this question by defining *signum* as cause, and it is here that the notion of sacrament suffered its greatest change. In the early tradition, the causality inherent in the sacrament is inseparable from its symbolism in which it is rooted. Their institution is precisely the fulfillment of new creation—an epiphany. The causality linking the institution "signum" to "res" is viewed as extrinsic and formal, and is no longer intrinsic and revealing. Rather than revealing through fulfillment, it guarantees the reality of the sacrament's effects. If this new understanding of causality breaks the ontological continuity between the "sign" and the "res" it also rejects, *de facto*, all continuity between institution and the normal order of things.¹⁸ Independent now of anything, the sacramental system exists in and of itself.

It is now that arguments over "real presence" (implying an unreal presence) can take place. The famous case of Berenger of Tours in the eleventh century is an excellent example of this. If for him the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist are not real because they are symbolical, for the Lateran Council of 1059 they are real precisely because they are *not* symbolical. The distinction having inevitably led to opposition, the latter has remained the framework of all the subsequent theological development.

17 A. M. Rouguet, *St. Thomas D'Aquin "Somme Théologique" Les Sacraments* (3a Question 60-65) (Paris, 1945), p. 258.

18 Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World*, p. 258.

Coming out of the universities and monasteries into the villages, one can observe what a tremendous impact this kind of tension of real/symbolic sacramental theology had on an already semi-Christian population. If the sacrament could be adored outside of the liturgy, if it could be carried in processions, it could also be ground up and sprinkled on the fields to insure good harvest, taken home and be put on the hearth to protect the household from evil, and even worse, be used to cast spells in favor of the possessor.¹⁹ By the late Middle Ages the general effect had been to shift the emphasis away from the communion of the faithful and to place it upon the formal consecration by the priest. In the popular mind the priest was a magician, the members of the congregation, spectators. Participation meant nothing; the ceremony had acquired a mechanical efficacy, which in their minds, could change the material objects on the altar. It is important to note, however, that the medieval Church did not deliberately hold out to the laity an organized system of magic. According to the medieval Church there was no superstition in believing that the elements could change their nature after the formula of consecration had been pronounced over them. This was the work of God through the Church. Yet if a belief in the magical efficacy of the Host served to enhance respect for the clergy and to make the laity more regular churchgoers, then why should it not be tacitly tolerated?²⁰

The last important phase to look at before Zwingli is humanism. Two men in particular influenced him; Pico della Mirandola and Erasmus. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as the Turks were pressing closer to the fortress of Constantinople, many Greek intellectuals moved to Italy. They brought with them some works of Plato and Aristotle, which the West had never seen before, as well as a knowledge of Greek. Soon the Italians began to translate the newly discovered classical works into Latin, and to teach Greek. A "new" type of knowledge—a way of knowledge—began. The humanists were writers, teachers, moralists. They were concerned with sources, language, styles of language, beauty of language, and potency of speech. They were also rhetoricians, and this meant they were committed to the art of persuasion.²¹ The humanists regarded the growing "this-worldly" involvements and achievements, and the human needs and relations of the men of their times with great seriousness; and thus they saw them as occurring within the broader purview of God's providence as manifesting His creation of man in His image and likeness.²²

Pico della Mirandola apparently affected Zwingli.²⁴ Unlike most

19 K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1961), pp. 34-36.

20 Ibid., p. 49.

21 P. O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought* (New York, 1961) p. 123.

22 C. Trinkhaus, *In the Image and Likeness*, 1 (London, 1970), p. xxiii.

23 Ibid.

24 Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, p. 63.

humanists, Pico felt indebted to Aristotle and earlier Scholastic philosophy. There is an important distinction between theology and philosophy for Pico. Even though Pico was an influence upon Zwingli, there are not very many obvious parallels in their thought. One curious one, however, can be made in Pico's view of the Incarnation. The Incarnation was the example or image of man's divine potentiality, and the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ are the examples of man's divine fulfillment.²⁵ Christ in Zwingli's thought is an example to all mankind—the best and the most perfect one.²⁶ Pico was also very greatly influenced by Lactantius and the Ciceronian Stoic projection of human dignity in *The Nature of the Gods*. Zwingli admired and used the writings of Lactantius, the "Christian Cicero," whom he regarded almost as a Father of the Church and whose views on providence formed a basis for his later thought about predestination.²⁷ Within this movement mysticism and humanity moved in the same direction—toward a conception of God as the *deus tremedeus et absconditus*. The Neoplatonic theosophy of God's transcendence and omnipresence filtered down from Dionysian texts to Pico and his contemporaries. Zwingli indeed, fused the Neoplatonic and the New Testament picture of God with curious dogmatic results, as in his sacramental teachings.²⁸

Like their Italian neighbors, the German humanist began with certain *a priori* notions about the world of nature which were derived more from a Platonic than from an Aristotelian cosmology,²⁹ although there was usually something from every philosophy. Neoplatonism and Christianity had lived in harmony for many centuries; the Church had emasculated the philosophy so that it was theologically harmless. Throughout the Middle Ages God's ineffability had been maintained by all the schools, except by the Ockamists, who tended to make an abstraction of God and reduce him to a factor in an equation.³⁰ Erasmus was the most popular and influential humanist in Europe during the sixteenth century. His book, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, had a strong influence upon Zwingli. Erasmus yearned for a revival of Christianity. Through the *sacrae litterae* of the New Testament and the early Fathers, the original Christianity was to be restored to the world. But Erasmus had a parallel desire which was equally intense; this was for a revival of the humanism of classical antiquity through the restoration of the world of *bonae litterae*.³¹ The specifically Christian content of Erasmian humanism was

25 Trinkaus, *In the Image and Likeness*, p. xxiii.

26 Zwingli, "On True and False Religion," 3, pp. 12, 13.

27 Potter, *Zwingli*, p. 204.

28 L. Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge, Ma., 1963), p. 285.

29 Ibid., p. 282.

30 Ibid., p. 283.

31 C. Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts* (New Haven, 1966), p. 34.

thus at once determined and limited by the fundamentally secular idea of humanism, with which the ideal Christianity was inextricably linked. Consequently, Zwingli was first exposed to a vast program of a Christian renaissance which was as much sociocultural as religious.³²

Erasmus reaches the heart of his theology in an exhortation to follow Christ the celestial teacher, to live after his example, and to learn to despise Satan and death.³³ When he said that the history of Christianity is the history of its degeneration, he held the idea of a corrupted Church. Yet the most interesting aspect of Erasmus—and that which most deeply affected Zwingli—was his detachment from both the internal and external life of the Church. He argued from Scripture and the Fathers, not from ecclesiastical tradition. His interpretations of these texts were done philologically and historically, not philosophically or theologically.³⁴ Through this influence from outside the established theological tradition, Zwingli had come to an evangelical understanding of Christ.

Ulrich Zwingli was to all intents and purposes a thorough-going disciple of Erasmus. The long course of humanistic training, culminating in his two years of virtually complete immersion in Erasmian thought, had the most far reaching consequences not only for Zwingli's theology, but also his attitude toward the viable Christian community. By 1520, Zwingli, having been educated in Vienna and Basle and personally taught by the great Wittenbach, was all-together able to produce the telling sentence, the well-turned epigram, the apt quotation; he was able to read and write in Greek, knew his Plato, and rejoiced in common with Erasmus at the satire and subtle wit of Lucian.³⁵

Pragmatically, Zwingli became a parish priest. He could still study the classics, write, and interpret Scriptures, yet make a living. There is no suggestion that Zwingli regarded his ordination as priest, with all the spiritual authority and power that this implied, as anything more than a routine requirement.³⁶ Zwingli's fundamental intellectual and psychological separation from the ecclesiastical environment not only enabled him to criticize it more readily, but made it virtually impossible for him to disengage questions of substance from those of form.³⁷ As a result of his conditioning by the humanist idea of a total program of Christian rebirth, he could not distinguish between a spiritual reform and an institutional one. Erasmus' "philosophy of Christ" was thoroughly ingrained in Zwingli's mind. This posited a radical distinction between the flesh and the spirit. Outward observance in worship was without

32 Ibid.

33 Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance*, p. 224.

34 Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts*, p. 35.

35 Potter, *Zwingli*, p. 65.

36 Ibid., p. 23.

37 Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts*, p. 36.

value, because it was corporeal; true Christian discipleship meant the spiritual life, and, almost exclusively, inner experience, whose external expression in public worship was in itself relatively insignificant.³⁸ The antinomy between flesh and spirit was not derived from Erasmus alone, of course; but the importance of it is that it pervades every aspect of Zwingli's theological thought.

By April 1522, Zwingli had sorted many things out for himself. He had ceased to be primarily a humanist and a scholar; he had parted company with his revered master, Erasmus,³⁹ because he was now cutting himself loose from Rome. Jesus Christ was his guide for thought and action in a more radical way than He was for Erasmus. The Spirit was Zwingli's only true guide from then on. Philosophy was no longer a sufficient guide; scholars could make mistakes—God could not. This theme in Zwingli appears again and again. The Scriptures pose no problem for understanding if the Spirit guides a person. All people, like Zwingli himself, can and must replace speculative deductions with divine certainty.⁴⁰ Zwingli's appeal was to the Bible, and for him this is the heart of the sanctification process.

The most relevant sections in Zwingli's treatise to Francis I on symbol and sanctification are "The Christian Religion," "The Gospel," "Repentance," "Baptism," "Eucharist," "Magisterial Office," and "Statues and Images." Zwingli, like Cicero in his *De Nature Deorum*, derives the term "religion" from the Latin verb "relegere," "Because the religious carefully consider, and, as it were, peruse (relegerant) all the things that pertain to the worship of the 'gods'." Zwingli insisted that the true source of all religion is the Word of God, the Gospel.⁴¹ Its essential content is the immediate relation between God and man, growing out of faith in God's grace and expressing itself in paternal and filial piety. He fails to show how this relation is realized through Christ and His atoning death.⁴² In his interpretation of religion he is theocentric rather than Christocentric.⁴³ He does not approach God through Christ but Christ through God: "The knowledge of God precedes the knowledge of Christ." Zwingli's major emphasis throughout any discussion is the Spirit—God is spirit, indescribable, ineffable. Christ became man.

Although he affirms the unity of Christ, he greatly emphasizes His divinity, to the point in fact of depreciating His humanity.⁴⁴ Such an emphasis is characteristic of Zwingli's christology, for he always tended to

38 Ibid.

39 Potter, *Zwingli*, p. 75.

40 Ibid., p. 88.

41 Courvoisier, *Zwingli*, p. 28.

42 Zwingli, "On True and False Religion," 3, p. 12.

43 Ibid.

44 Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts*, p. 170.

stress the distinction of the two natures as against their unity. God is the author of redemption, and Christ's humanity—even on the cross—plays an auxiliary role. It is the divinity rather than the humanity of Christ that saves mankind.⁴⁵ As he states, "Redemption is through the deity, although the death is of man." Zwingli, by making these distinctions, sees salvation through the nature rather than through the person of Christ. Although he does not explicitly carry out his distinction to the extreme, he does not mention the restoration of matter in Christ's human body:

Wishing at length, then to help this desperate case of ours, our Creator sent one to satisfy His justice by offering Himself for us—not an angel, nor a man, but His own Son, and clothed Him in flesh, in order that neither his majesty might deter us from intercourse with Him, nor His lowliness deprive us of hope.⁴⁶

As stated before, Christ's work is not stressed in the Orthodox sense, and in this passage neither is His person. It does not occur to him that it is the essence of the Incarnation that matter is not derogatory to the nature of God. Zwingli implies that Christ's atoning work had an effect upon God, and by way of example, deeply influenced man. This benefit for man was new to the traditional Anselmian satisfaction view of salvation. But instead of being the restoration of *all things*—matter included—it was an ethical benefit. This is where Zwingli's sanctification—man's response to God—begins.

In Zwingli's section on the Gospel, he speaks a great deal of repentance and the Spirit. The Gospel includes more than an offer of forgiveness, it teaches a person to embrace not only grace but a new life. "Our lives and characters must be changed; for to be a Christian is nothing less than to be a new man and a new creature" (2 Cor 5.17). And Zwingli states, "The whole life of the Christian is one of repentance." Through the Scripture, the hearing of the Word, the Holy Spirit enters a person's heart and faith is born.⁴⁷ Also through the Word of God, people are reminded (the two-fold action) of Christ's teachings, and they are expected to live according to His example. Thus preaching becomes very important for Zwingli. It is interesting to note that faith cannot be perceived with the senses. The idea of religious certitude and the senses are totally opposed to each other.

Although in the section on the Gospel repentance was discussed, Zwingli expounds his ideas on repentance more fully in another chapter. He draws a distinction between evangelical repentance and Roman Catholic practices of penance. The latter is false repentance. A person must utterly despair of himself, and then the Holy Spirit comes into his

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 171.

⁴⁶ Zwingli, "On True and False Religion," 3, p. 208.

⁴⁷ Courvoisier, *Zwingli*, p. 69.

heart. This is true repentance. Zwingli proclaims the paradox that men are saved only through Christ and yet one must lead a good life. Zwingli transforms everything into ethical living.⁴⁸ "All the writings of the apostles are filled with this idea, namely, that the Christian religion is nothing else than a firm hope in God through Jesus Christ and a blameless life wrought after the pattern of Christ as far as he giveth us." A sanctified life is an ethical life, through the Holy Spirit.

The most important sections on symbol and sanctification are "Baptism" and the "Eucharist." The earlier discussion will resume here with these two chapters. Zwingli disliked the word "sacrament." "I wish the Germans had never let this word get into their theological vocabulary."⁴⁹ One of the reasons he disliked it so intensely was the value people placed in it. They attributed holy power to it, enabling it to forgive sins and clear the conscience. He could not even agree with those who claimed that it was a *sign* of something holy. For him, internal purification cannot go along with the use of the external sign. Zwingli's own definition of sacrament is derived from the meaning of the word which it had in secular history. *Sacramentum* was a token laid upon the altar by men going into battle.⁵⁰ The word also implied an oath, or a pledge of allegiance. It carried no sacred connotation. *Arcanum* would have been a closer translation of *mysterion*. For Zwingli sacraments are a pledge. They show the Christian community that a person has committed himself to Christ's "forces," he received a reminder that he must not break the promise. Sacraments had nothing to do with forgiveness of sins—only God can do that. They are signs and ceremonials, the Creator and Spirit cannot be bound by material agents or even be manifested by them.

Zwingli rejected *opus operatum* of the sacrament of baptism. Water can not wash away sins, the Trinitarian formula could vary, baptism could be in the name of Christ alone.⁵¹ Baptism has a declaratory value, not a purifying one. The only reason for it in the case of true believers is that it is commanded in the New Testament. There are two kinds of baptism for Zwingli: baptism of the Holy Spirit which comes from faith in the heart from the hearing of the Gospel, and the external baptism by water. The former is absolutely indispensable, the latter is not. Zwingli insists that water baptism, like circumcision in the Old Testament by which it was foreshadowed, is a sign, a simple form of action which was of itself not necessary for salvation.⁵² He uses the Old Testament argument against the Anabaptists who would not baptize children. Their baptism was an assurance to the community that the children would be

48 Zwingli, "On True and False Religion", 3, p. 15.

49 Courvoisier, *Zwingli*, p. 63.

50 Ibid.

51 Potter, *Zwingli*, p. 188.

52 Ibid.

raised in a Christian manner. Since infants are not capable of faith and are not yet under damnation, they are in a state of salvation.

Another peculiarity in his exposition on baptism is that there is no difference between the baptism of John and of Jesus. This sameness is proven by the fact that Christ received the baptism of John and "made no change in it either in his own case or that of his apostles." The end of both baptisms was "that we might come forth new men and might model our lives according to the teaching which each proclaimed."⁵³ The sign is radically apart from any spiritual context in baptism. The Spirit remains totally inapprehensible in sanctification through baptism—and, indeed, even in the baptism by water: "to be baptized into the name is to be grafted by faith in God."⁵⁴

Zwingli liked the term εὐχαριστία (thanksgiving) for the Lord's Supper. He painstakingly explicates all his views on the subject in this chapter, for this was a major issue to him and many of his contemporaries. He bases his own exposition of the Eucharist upon John 6.26 ff. which he abundantly quotes throughout. He is thoroughly opposed to the opinion that communicants eat the physical body and blood of Christ. He says that this opinion is "opposed by all sense and reason and understanding and by faith itself." "To abide in Christ means to cling in love to God, with the same love He gave himself for us, and this is only possible through faith."⁵⁵

Zwingli refuses to accept the modification of the views in the confession of Berenger given by those who say: "we eat, indeed the true bodily flesh of Christ, but *spiritually*." Here Zwingli shows his theological/philosophical inheritance. People who say these things, according to him, fail to see that the two statements are mutually exclusive: "it is body" and "it is eaten spiritually." "To eat the fleshly body spiritually" amounts to making body into spirit, and this is not possible philosophically speaking. Zwingli, however, does not deny one the right to speak of spiritual eating. "We eat spiritually, when through the grace of God we come to Christ," and "to eat spiritually the body of Christ is nothing more than to put your trust in Christ."⁵⁶

The third section of the chapter is quite interesting, as he defends his spiritual argument through his own Christological interpretation of the death on the cross.

This then is the third sure mark that Christ is not speaking here of sacramental eating; for He is only in so far salvation unto us as He was slain only according to the flesh, and could be salvation bringing only according to His divinity.⁵⁷

53 Zwingli, "On True and False Religion," 3, p. 23.

54 Ibid., p. 196.

55 Ibid., p. 204.

56 Ibid., p. 25.

57 Ibid., p. 205.

Zwingli is so consistent in his separation of matter and the spirit that he makes a dichotomy of the person of Christ. Salvation wrought this way can only radically separate the life of the faithful person in like manner.

Then Zwingli goes through the Fathers (previously investigated) to support his interpretation that in chapter six of John "eat" means "believe," and in "This is my body" the "is" means "signifies." Besides the Fathers, he quotes numerous passages from the Old and New Testaments (Gen 41.26, Lk 8.11, Mt 13.38). These arguments would, four years later, lead him to stalemate in a debate with Martin Luther at Marburg. Zwingli states Luther's case in this treatise:

I hear some people burst forth indignantly, 'If we are to force any word we please, nothing in Holy Scripture will retain its integrity, for licence will be given to the impious to twist everything into anything you like.'

After serious consideration Zwingli responds to this, "The flesh profiteth nothing" (Jn 6.63). The Lord's Supper for Zwingli is a thanksgiving, it is neither a *mysterion* nor a sacrament in the Roman sense. It is a Christian celebration of a decisive victory through which a people have won civil freedom.⁵⁸ He finds no place for a personal fellowship between the glorified Christ and His people on earth. The distant historical fact is central, not the presence of Christ among His people. In eating the community joins *itself* together, not each to Christ.

Once again Zwingli's two realms are consistently apart. For him Christ's human body was something specifically defined and delimited; it was in heaven, invisible and incommunicable. There was simply no possibility of a corporeal, material eating of Christ in the bread. The presence of Christ at the Lord's Supper in Zwingli's church could be only a spiritual one, for Christ could be an object of faith only through His divinity, just as His divinity rather than his humanity redeemed mankind.⁵⁹

"There is no society more peaceful and God-fearing than the society in which God's word is openly and faithfully proclaimed."⁶⁰ According to Zwingli, Christians had moral responsibilities to society because "as long as Christians are not perfect," and perfection is not attainable in this world, the regulations and restraints of the law are indispensable. In all circumstances the state and the Christian life are inseparable.⁶¹ The state was to act on behalf of the entire local community of Christians in enforcing ecclesiastical discipline within it. Moreover, Zwingli's conflict with the Anabaptists and the other resistances he met led him to see positive advantages in the discipline: he held that the "evil spirited, ig-

58 Ibid., p. 28.

59 Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts*, p. 34.

60 Courvoisier, *Zwingli*, p. 69.

61 Zwingli, "On True and False Religion," 3, p. 36.

norant community needed overseers.”⁶² Sanctification in the faithful community was seen not in fasting, processions, sacramental life, or mystical prayer; no, it was displayed in the Christian community in the city-state, well run by God-fearing Christians. Although living faith concealed in the heart was, indeed, the first and most decisive factor, it must nevertheless show its genuineness also in the outward order of public affairs and be in a position “to restore the dominion of God on earth,” as he himself stipulates.⁶³

In Zwingli’s chapter on the magistrates, he expresses these views against both the Anabaptists and the Romans. Anabaptists held that Christians have no need of a magistrate, and Christians should not serve the magistrate. The duties of the citizen and the Christian are much the same, even if their motives are not quite the same. The state requires “that one serve the common weal, not one’s own.” All the duties and modes of the Christian community are included in the law of love which controls the Christian community professing the sovereignty of God through Jesus Christ.⁶⁴

Zwingli calls “mad” the denial of the right of a Christian to serve as a magistrate. He goes back into history, “David, Solomon, Theodosios, and Louis” are all some of the best examples of good Christian magistrates. The character of Christian magistracy “belongs to the whole church, not to certain persons who have despotically arrogated supreme authority to themselves.”⁶⁵ For Zwingli alliance with the magistracy was essential. Those who did believe were only known to God, who gave them the faith. People might confess with their mouth, but no one could be sure of their sincerity. By enforcing external standards in the spirit of the Word of God and protecting, as well as supporting, the proclamation of the Gospel, the magistrates made possible the gathering of the believers.⁶⁶ Zwingli insisted the best Christians made the best officials. The happiest and most successful states are those in which true religion reigns. Church and State must equally support impartial justice, the former through the law of reciprocal love, the latter by regulating in the interest of the whole tendency of the individual to consider only his own advantage.⁶⁷

Zwingli had not intended to write anything on statues and images, not for lack of opinion, simply because he had planned to write a longer separate tract later. He included a chapter in this treatise simply because some of his “brethren” had urged him to do so. He makes a clear distinc-

62 Birnbaum, “Zurich Reformation” *Archives de Sociologies de Religions*, 8 (1959), pp. 15-30.

63 O. Farner, *Zwingli the Reformer* (New York, 1952), p. 110.

64 Zwingli, “On True and False Religion,” 3, p. 36.

65 Ibid., p. 305.

66 R. Walton, *Zwingli’s Theocracy* (Toronto, 1967), p. 124.

67 Potter, *Zwingli*, p. 124.

tion between image for artistic purposes and art for worship. He has no objection to the former, but the latter is contrary to the command of God in the Old and New Testaments. And as to the contention that art helps educate the illiterate (a favorite Roman Catholic position hailing back to the days of Saint Gregory the Great) he replies that Christ never taught anyone by these means, "He certainly would not have omitted it had it been profitable." People should be taught by the Word of God rather than the artist's hand. Here his humanistic ties are evident; verbal communication is the most important contact between man and God. He also objected to representations of Christ on the grounds that no one can represent the divine nature; if His human nature is represented and worshipped, this is idolatry. Zwingli here shows his ignorance of the same arguments which had torn apart Christendom during the eighth century, and which Saint John of Damascus among others had so faithfully and brilliantly expressed, leading ultimately to the victory of the Orthodox position. Yet these subtle and sophisticated arguments escaped Zwingli. His points are achieved only through the splitting of the Hypostatic Union. There is only one possible image of Christ for Zwingli, a purely spiritual one—namely man's attempt to live the Christian life.⁶⁸ Zwingli's great affirmation of the invisible God from his commentary *On True and False Religion* is that God is an invisible spirit, and an incomprehensible essence, He cannot therefore, by art or image, be expressed.⁶⁹ Art no longer functions as part of worship or as a bearer of spiritual effects. Art, in fact, was a positive hindrance to true faith and true worship—and least of all had anything to do with the Incarnation.

One wonders whether Zwingli would have taken an even more extreme position on the Incarnation had he not been an infralapsarian (implying the necessity of the Incarnation). He would have then been free to see mankind saved in another way, a way in which he would be raised up to God's level; he would become entirely spirit, as his Creator is. This, of course, is entirely speculation, but it does indicate how radically Zwingli felt about the flesh and how he must have struggled to come to terms with the Incarnation. It is reasonable to say that "symbol" had changed enough by the sixteenth century so that Zwingli could come to his own terms with the Incarnation—and still remain a Christian. Symbol had become divorced from that which it represented. Applying this concept to the Incarnation, which is the epitome of symbol and that which it represents in the fullest sense, the split between the corporeal and the spiritual in the person of Christ inevitably took place. God in Christ saves humanity, the man in Christ is humanity's example. The sanctification of creation is not inherent in God's assuming flesh. The restoration of all things is somewhat overlooked. One can conclude that the only reality of sanctification for Zwingli was the invisible action of the Holy

68 Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts*, p. 140.

69 Ibid., p. 179.

Spirit in men's hearts. This had absolutely nothing to do with the senses, or even the material world. Man's response to the invisible gift of faith was in proper ethical living within the Christian community. This is the outcome of his radical, even prophetic concept of symbol, faith, and salvation. "Faith is from the invisible God and tends toward the invisible God, and is something completely apart from all that is sensible."⁷⁰ This is Zwingli's consistent position. Faith, it may be conceded, is this, but is salvation?

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 177.

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perspective. It is definitely worth the reading. More than the author's private views, much of the normative content reflects on the status of thinking of the WCC, though it should not be read as a WCC document.

Stylistically, it is generally well written in a way which makes its points readily understood. I will guess that its readers, however, will be sharply divided over Nelson's penchant for the pun and the frequent turns of phrase on the 'cute' side, e.g., "Does the End Justify the Genes?" For some readers such puns and statements may provide a needed respite from the seriousness of the matters under discussion; for others they will probably cause reactions of impatience.

Nelson's use of theology is of particular interest to Eastern Orthodox readers. Nelson is very widely and ecumenically sensitive. Not a doctrinaire promoter, it is clear that the author's theological stance is in the mainstream of historic Christianity. In several places he draws upon Eastern Orthodox perspectives with decisive emphasis. Most conspicuous is his use of the insights in Paulos Gregorios', *The Human Presence*. Nelson concludes his book with a reference to the views of the Greek Fathers on the energies of God as related to a vision of "A New Kind of Human Society."

In the end, the book does not 'provide answers' in some sort of prescriptive fashion. But it is no mere catalogue of conflicting views, either. There is a stance presented, fully sensitive to the difficulties and ambiguities. It takes full cognizance of the reality of 'science and the troubled conscience,' but does so from the perspective of a centered Christian conscience, which is essentially hope-filled and critically optimistic.

Stanley Samuel Harakas

Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

Συμβολή εις τήν μελέτη τοῦ βίου καί ἔργου τοῦ Ἰωάννου Μαυρόποδος.
[*A Contribution to the Study of the Life and Work of Ioannes Mauro-*
pous]. By Apostolos Karpozelos. Ioannina, 1979. Pp. 277 + Indices.

It is unfortunate that this is a mimeographed private publication and not a printed commercial one which would allow more scholars and institutions to read it. A keen future historian of our era will sadly notice some decades from now how this book eloquently reflects the signs of our time, a time when support for serious scholarly publications in the humanities is scarce. It may appear to "have little social redeeming value"—the most absurd misconception ever fabricated! The same historian, however, will certainly praise the quality of scholarly investigation, the serious style, the carefully articulated theses, the meticulously balanced evidence demonstrated in the same era by this

same book; and this is refreshing.

These qualities have been put together to produce a useful study on the life and, especially, the work of John Mavropous, the eleventh century Paphlagonian intellectual, literalist and orator, Constantinopolitan teacher, bishop of Euchaita, and mystic. The credentials of the author, Dr. Apostolos Karpozelos of the University of Ioannina, are impressive; he is the recipient of the Alexander von Humboldt and Fritz Thyssen Scholarships and student of H.-G. Beck. This book is the product of the author's labor at the prestigious Byzantine Institute of Munich.

The book is divided into two very uneven parts: the first is on "The Life" and the second, on "The Work of Mavropous." The lack of sufficient information on Mavropous' life is reflected in the sketchiness of the first part of the book, a mere thirty-page essay with sixteen additional pages of notes. But even in this brief account, the author questions a number of previously held theses, strengthens others, and provides the reader with new insights. For example, he advances the date of Mavropous' ordination to the episcopate from 1044 to 1047; and he defends, rather successfully, the thesis that this ordination and the assignment to the particular diocese of Euchaita was a pretext for his removal from Constantinople, rather than a recognition of, and promotion for, his services in the imperial court.

The main bulk of the book is dedicated to a review of the literary work of Mavropous—a careful investigation into the existing manuscript codices with a brief analysis of its content. Mavropous' work includes the epigrams found in nine codices; his seventy-seven extant letters of particular historical significance to, among others, such prominent eleventh-century Byzantines as Michael Psellos, John Xifilinos, Constantine Monomachos and Patriarch Michael Keroularios; and his orations and speeches.

The author has actually produced four essays on Mavropous, each somewhat independent of the other. Each essay ("Life," "Epigrams," "Letters," and "Orations") includes its own section of notes at the end which serves to distract and prevent the reader from gaining an integrated impression of Mavropous. The entire book is overly annotated: one hundred and fifty pages of essay/text and sixty-three pages of notes, a staggering 635 notes in total! However, the nature of the subject and its scholarly treatment warrant, somewhat, such a burdensome substantiation; and there is something of value to be said about the European and, especially, the German scholarly tradition which the book represents.

What is still an unfamiliar phenomenon in Greek scholarship in general, is the use of pure demotic, which the author handles with skill. The continuous interplay between the careful twentieth-century demotic of Karpozelos and the eleventh-century Greek in the frequent quotations of the Isocrates-like Byzantine orator, makes the reading intriguing and pleasant.

The author concludes with a quotation from his teacher, H.-G. Beck, characterizing the era of Mavropous which, translated, reads: "The political theology of the Byzantines had exalted the office of the emperor to, certainly, an unbearable degree... Rhetoric followed most faithfully the example of this political metaphysics or, rather, of this political ideology."

Daniel Sahas
University of Waterloo

The Philokalia: A Review Article. By Theodore Stylianopoulos.

When E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer published the first English translation of the *Philokalia* in two volumes,¹ a condensed version of Theophan's Russian translation, they expressed the hope that one day a new translation of the entire Greek original might be made available to English readers as "the only final solution to the problem of making the treasure contained in the *Philokalia* available to the West in a form as rich and as wisely balanced as the original."² After a quarter of a century, this hope is now being fulfilled with the appearance of *The Philokalia: The Complete Text Compiled by St. Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St. Makarios of Corinth*, Volume 1, translated from the Greek and edited by G. E. H. Palmer, Philip Sherrard, and Kallistos Ware (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1979), pp. 378, hard-bound, \$34.00. My purpose in this brief article is to review this first volume of the new English *Philokalia* and also to offer some broad remarks about the legacy of the *Philokalia* in the Orthodox tradition.

The *Philokalia* (literally meaning the love of the good and the beautiful) is a collection of patristic writings on the spiritual life, its purpose and goals, principles and characteristics, temptations and struggles, joys and rewards. But the essence of the *Philokalia* involves more than a collection of writings: it is a way of life, a way of prayer, a way of personal communion with God which cannot be limited to any edition of writings.³ In both of these aspects, the historical-literary as well as the theological-spiritual, the *Philokalia* is fundamentally rooted in the Bible from which it draws not only key descriptions of what is a life pleasing to God, but also a zealous concern about practicing a righteous life before God. One has only to think of the book of Psalms to call to mind the per-

1 *Writings from the Philokalia on Prayer of the Heart* (London [1951]) and *Early Fathers from the Philokalia* (London [1954]).

2 *The Philokalia: The Complete Text*, cited above in the text, p. 13.

3 Marcel Pirard, "Le Starec Paisij Veličkovskij (1722-1794): La Tradition philologico-ascétique en Russie et en Europe orientale," *Messenger de l'Exarchat du Patriarche Russe en Europe Occidentale* 81-82 (January-June 1973), 46, n. 47.

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dazzled by the gleam of such 'perfection'; somehow the beauty of the ladder tends to fade before an understanding of the true perfection to which it reaches. Indeed, 'shadow monasticism' fails to develop resoluteness and genuine spiritual fervor (a failure effected by any disingenuous accommodation to the supposed demands of the 'modern age'). Likewise, 'perfect monasticism,' in its insolent disdain for all that it does not encompass, parts with charity, compassion, and (not least of all) true spiritual humility. To these ills, the *Philokalia* comes as a great physician, giving direction, balance, and therapy. And if its curative balm does not affect the patient, it can, at the very least, warn others of what otherwise might become epidemic.

The *Philokalia*, if read with care after much preparation and in a state of spiritual sobriety, gives us profound glimpses of the Truth of truths. Its publication is an eminent accomplishment. I await the next volumes.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
Ashland Theological Seminary and Ashland College

The Ancient Fathers of the Desert. By Archimandrite Chrysostomos. Brookline, Massachusetts: Hellenic College Press, 1980. Pp. 118. Cloth \$8.00. Paper \$4.95.

The compiler and translator of this book is Abbot of the Saint Gregory Palamas Monastery at Hayesville, Ohio, and Professor of Christian Thought at Ashland Theological Seminary and of Psychology at Ashland College. According to its subtitle, the book consists of "translated narratives from *Evergetinos* on Passions and Perfection in Christ." In his nine-page introduction, Archimandrite Chrysostomos informs us that the primary original source of this volume was the *Mikros* ('Small') *Evergetinos* that was compiled and translated into demotic Greek by the monk Kallinikos of the Skete of Saint Anna on the Holy Mountain of Athos, and published at the Holy Mountain and in Athens in 1977 (p. 17). We are further informed that he has taken the liberty of combining with the narratives of the Desert Fathers a few anecdotes of "spiritual people of our own times, mostly holy men and women living in Greece" (ibid.). His reason for doing this was "to emphasize that, despite the waning tide of Orthodox spirituality today, there are still some spiritual Fathers of the stature of the ancients" (ibid.). These anecdotes and sayings, it might be remarked, are interspersed in the book. However, Chrysostomos has been careful to indicate in each instance that the anecdote is of recent date.

The original *Evergetinos*, written in Patristic Greek, is a monumental work that was compiled in the eleventh century by Paul, Abbot of the Monastery of Evergetes at Constantinople, and contains teachings and

instructive incidents from the lives of hundreds of Desert Fathers. Its real title is: *Collection of the Divine Sayings and Teachings of the God-inspired and Holy Fathers*. It first appeared in print in 1783 at Venice, through the initiative of Saint Makarios of Corinth, who found the manuscripts containing the text at the Monastery of Koutloumousiou on Mount Athos and gave them to Saint Nikodemos the Hagiorite to prepare a text for publication. Nikodemos edited the texts and contributed a remarkable introduction (See my books *St. Macarios of Corinth*, 1972, 1977, pp. 24-25, 32, and *St. Nicodemos the Hagiorite*, 1974, 1979, pp. 14, 18-21). This work became, since its publication, "the delight and unerring guide of the spiritual life of whole generations, not only of monks of the Eastern Church, but also of clergymen and laymen" (*St. Macarios of Corinth*, p. 32).

Since 1783, the *Evergetinos* has gone through four editions. The fifth, an excellent one in four volumes, was published between 1957 and 1966 at Athens under the editorship of the monk, Victor Matthaïou, compiler of the fourteen-volume *Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church*. In the introduction of *The Ancient Fathers of the Desert*, Archimandrite Chrysostomos calls attention to the fact that "parts of the *Evergetinos* have appeared in English." But he remarks that "these English translations have not provided for the spiritual needs of the Orthodox in the West" (p. 13). He gives two reasons for this. One reason is that "for the most part, the available translations are by Roman Catholics working from Latin texts with anecdotes that relate to an Eastern monasticism foreign to the traditions and development of Western monasticism, or by scholars with largely academic interest in the Desert Fathers. However noble the efforts of these translators may be, they lack the very experience which the *Evergetinos* transmits, and which is necessary in order to produce a useful introduction to Orthodox spirituality for the beginner or lay reader" (p. 13-14). Another reason is that "there are today very few individuals who truly understand what translation is.... The presentation of deep spiritual writings demands very careful selection of passages by spiritually experienced individuals. How much more, then, we should expect such experience to play a role in the translation of the passages. Too many times we find that translators have fallen into a supercilious style of translation in which they unwittingly lose the meaning of a passage in their misguided efforts to show technical precision, and one might suspect, to demonstrate their superior knowledge of some language. They produce lengthy introductions in criticism of one or another translator, thereby, in the case of spiritual writings, acting against the very charity embodied in what they translate (p. 14).

Father Chrysostomos' book contains seven chapters or 'sections' that pertain to a great many topics. Some are concerned with religious practices, such as fasting, silence, reading sacred texts, repentance, confession, receiving Holy Communion, inner attention, and prayer. Others

have to do with 'passions' to be opposed and overcome, such as gluttony, sloth, anger, malice, and pride. And others deal with humility, faith, discretion, patience, love and other virtues.

The translation is eminently successful, conveying faithfully the essence of the wisdom and spirituality of the Desert Fathers. It is a valuable contribution to the rapidly growing number of English-language books pertaining to Orthodox Christian spirituality. The significance of its appearance can be appreciated if one considers what has already been said above regarding the *Evergetinos* and also the place which it occupies in the estimation of advanced spiritual strivers today as a guide for those who aspire to grow spiritually. In connection with the latter, I shall quote some remarks made by a hermit whom I met in 1954 at Karoulia, on the Holy Mountain. His name was Gabriel. I speak of him in my book, *Anchored in God*. I asked Father Gabriel whether he recommended the *Philokalia* for persons who, while living in 'the world,' were interested in the practices of inner attention and mental prayer, which are especially dwelt upon in the *Philokalia*. He gave the following reply:

"The *Philokalia* is an excellent work, but it is for those who are advanced in the life of spiritual striving. It is 'university' education. First one has to go to 'grammar school,' then to 'high school,' and only then is he ready to go to a 'university.' "

"Should one start with *Evergetinos*?"

"No," he replied. "This, too, is advanced: it's 'high school.' One must start with something more elementary. One should read the lives of saints (*synaxaria*) in order to learn what kind of men the saints were, how they lived, and what they did. Then one can proceed to the higher steps" (*Anchored in God*, 1959, 1975, p. 181).

Father Gabriel's remarks, in the form of an analogy, put the *Evergetinos* in the proper perspective. In view of the appearance of English versions of the *Philokalia* (a two-volume one was published in 1951 and 1954, and two volumes of a projected five-volume new version appeared in 1979 and 1981), such remarks are needed to awaken in the English-speaking world the realization of the need for making available Orthodox lives of saints and the whole *Evergetinos*, as means of rising gradually to higher levels of spirituality, as conditions for really understanding and benefiting by the study of a work such as the *Philokalia*.

It is very much to be hoped that Archimandrite Chrysostomos will continue the work of translation of the *Evergetinos*, and offer sequels to *The Ancient Fathers of the Desert*.

Hellenic College Press is to be congratulated for having produced such an edifying and handsomely printed book.

Constantine Cavarinos .
Hellenic College

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SHERMAN GARNETT, JR.

THE CHRISTIAN YOUNG AND THE SECULAR WORLD: ST. BASIL'S LETTER ON PAGAN LITERATURE

Saint John Chrysostom has written that the excellence of a messenger is to add nothing of his own; said another way, the excellence of the interpreter is that he give himself wholly to the task of understanding the text before him in the way the author intended. All interpretation must begin here: for we can not presume to be open to the wisdom of an author if we have silently ridiculed his concerns by substituting our own. Such substitutions suggest that we believe our own wisdom superior to that of the authors we purport to study, a belief that destroys the possibility of genuine dialogue with the past. Yet it is possible that our author has spoken in a different way because he would find our speech base, or that he is silent about our most important concerns because he would consider them unworthy of a free man. Our reading of the greatest books must be open to an assault upon our way of thinking.

My concern will be a reading of Saint Basil's, *To Young Men, On How They Might Derive Profit From Pagan Literature*, which brings to the surface those issues the saint considers central to the moral education of young Christians.¹ One might legitimately wonder whether or not scholars and citizens of a free society, where all ideas are encouraged to compete openly as in a marketplace, can take the saint's inquiry and, especially, the circumspect manner he employs in writing seriously enough. Quite frankly, Basil proposes censorship of some texts and strict supervision over others, and he does so more by demonstration of how texts should be read than by openly admitting to his addresses that they must be deprived of certain books. Perhaps it would be better if we were able to resurrect the horizon of the pious layman or, better still, the earnest teacher who is daily confronted with the care of young souls. From either perspective, the seriousness of Basil's inquiry is clear.

The pagan poets and philosophers and, by analogy, all writing outside the church provide models of virtue and vice that are, at the very least, different from those of the Scripture. No serious Christian can help wondering whether or not this difference is fundamental or simply one of emphasis. The great charm of pagan Greek culture continues to move

1 Saint Basil, "Letter to Young Men on How They Might Derive Profit from Pagan Literature," *Letters* in 4 volumes, trans. R. J. Deferrari (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 378-435. (Hereafter Basil).

men's minds and stands as a potential stumbling block in the education of the young Christian. It is only natural that Basil inquire about the place of pagan literature in Christian pedagogy.

Basil's careful way of writing is itself an indication of the saint's concern for the different capacities of his readers; it originates in his reflections on his audience. We are accustomed to speaking and to writing bluntly: for such speech carries no legal sanctions, but rather assumes that everyone is capable of understanding what is being said at least well enough to pass judgment on it. Often in a debate about whether or not something is obscene or shameful, the offending material will be quoted or adequately described in a newspaper account about it. Saint Basil writes in a way that suggests that only those capable of understanding that something problematic or shameful is being discussed may pass judgment.

For parents, this proposition is self-evident: for we do not ask a child to choose his own food at a time when his sole concern is finding good things to eat; rather the parents restrict the issue of the child's diet to themselves and other competent adults such as a doctor or nurse. The difference between adult and child often means that we speak two separate languages, one to the child that simplifies or even mythologizes the reasons behind any decision, and another to those who fully understand. The essence of Basil's writing is to make these two languages one without destroying the horizon of the young nor limiting that of the adult.

Thus, Basil lays down rules for reading the pagans that the young may follow, all the while pointing to problems central to the teacher's concern. The young attempt to read as Basil does, while the teachers of the young learn about the stumbling blocks in their charge's natures. The *Letter* presupposes not merely that there are young men in need of guidance on the issue of reading pagan literature, but that there are teachers in need of such guidance, as well. To illustrate this on the simplest level, the saint's advice about reading pagan poetry in the light of certain standards assumes an older reader, capable of selecting texts according to Basil's principles and of insuring that the proper interpretation of these texts is grounded in the minds of the young, will be present. Advice to the young is Basil's explicit concern; his implicit concern is with providing a model for Christian teaching. Our reading of his work must be attentive to both these concerns.

A.

The text of the letter is divided into ten sections. I propose to comment on each section, paying attention to the examples given and standard of judgment exercised.

1. The work is addressed to young men from an elder who, because of his many experiences in life of both good and bad fortune, speaks of

himself as "conversant with human affairs."² Basil's claim to speak to the young is put forth, not simply because he possesses worldly wisdom, but because he occupies a position "immediately after your parents in natural relationship."³ Basil amends his first claim with the second to avoid presenting himself as do the rhetoricians, sophists, and teachers of eloquence: for these men promise to give the young wisdom or political power in exchange for money. They make the good they offer seem attractive by appealing to the erotic nature of the young, thus exciting the passions that moral education hopes to control. They weaken a young man's judgment just when he needs it most. It is sufficient to recall Plato's *Protagoras*. The young Hippocrates is willing to spend his money and that of his friends to study with the wise Protagoras. Socrates dissuades the obviously excited young man from hurrying off into such a relationship by showing that it is difficult to determine what it is the sophist actually does and what he will make of the young man in the end.⁴ Protagoras is said to have the voice of Orpheus, indicating both the charm and danger of his eloquence.⁵ The young man who has been drawn to something because it has aroused his passionate nature is hardly the best judge of what is good, especially if that good requires self-denial and sacrifice. Basil presents himself with both the gifts of a Protagoras and an affection for the young that resembles a father's. Christianity makes possible this new relationship between teacher and pupil.⁶ Basil makes no mention of money; his teaching grows out of a fatherly affection for the young and not from the love of material gain.⁷ The saint hopes his audience will be of the second class praised by Hesiod, those who were made good by listening to wise counselors; Basil implies that he is of the first class, those who have worked things out for themselves.⁸ Our attention is thus turned from what is best for the young to what kind of teacher can provide these good things. The young are clearly in need of wise counselors; thus we must be sure we know what a wise counselor is. The young must beware of those who would seduce them from the truth; they must follow those who have wisdom and not those who merely appear to have it. A great deal of knowledge is required at the outset, even before one is educated, if it is expected that a choice will be made between wisdom and its counterfeit. A substitute must be found for this wisdom that the young cannot be expected to have at the outset; that

2 Basil, 4, p. 379.

3 Ibid. Cf. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 2.2.5.

4 Plato, *Protagoras*, 310b-14c.

5 Ibid., 315a-b. Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, 10, 1 ff.

6 Basil, 4, p. 292-93. "For this dignity which is now ours makes all men sons by adoption."

7 Cf. Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 1.2.5-7. Plato, *Apology*, 31b.

8 Basil, 4, p. 379. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 293-97. Cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1095b.

substitute is the good teacher and the proper education. We need only recall Aristotle's censure of the young as unfit students of ethics to remind ourselves of the predicament faced by the young man seeking to be a good and wise one. The young lack the self-control and experience necessary for good judgment.⁹ Yet the aim of their studies and of Basil's work is a wisdom immune from the passionate claims of unfit men. Basil writes:

This is it, and naught else, that I come to offer you as my counsel — that you should not surrender to these men once and for all the rudders of your mind, as if of a ship, and follow them whither-soever they lead.¹⁰

To seek a teacher means to seek a ruler. The problem arises as to whether the ruler you initially trust with making you free and independent is capable of letting you go. To the young, a tyrant may seem like a king; a subtle seducer, a teacher. The initial solution to this dilemma, one that gives the young the rough and ready knowledge of what is useful and what is harmful, is to measure the claims of these other men against the model provided by Basil.¹¹ The teacher should thus offer what is most necessary and take nothing in return; his interest should resemble a father's. Basil's advice reminds potential teachers of the problem of the passionate nature of the young and provides them with a model for their own behavior that serves as a partial solution to that problem.

2. Human life, in itself, is of no value. Hence, the traditional adornments of that life, the gifts of wealth and fortune, are to be rejected.¹² Basil eschews the very heart of the pagan formula for the complete life: ancestral renown, bodily strength, beauty, stature, honors bestowed by man, kingship, and other human attributes.¹³ Basil's teaching can be both wise and fatherly because it does not seek after the things that breed competition and war and does not appeal to the erotic nature of the young with immoderate promises.¹⁴ The goods of this life are mere shadows and dreams when compared to the next.¹⁵ The afterlife is thus offered as the core of a Christian teacher's teaching; it is the source of what is useful and what is harmful for the soul.¹⁶ Certain pagan virtues,

9 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1095a.

10 Basil, 4, p. 381.

11 Ibid.

12 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1115a-28b.

13 Basil, 4, pp. 381-83.

14 Plato, *Protagoras*, 319a. Protagoras promises his pupils they will become a real power in the city. He also promises to be a father, *ibid.*, 317c.

15 Basil, 4, p. 383.

16 Acts 17.15-34. The Athenians mock Paul precisely because of the claim he makes on behalf of the afterlife.

especially those concerned with greatness of soul, collapse in the presence of an aim beyond this life. Why bother with the literature at all, especially when it is chiefly concerned with this life and speaks of the next with confusion and blasphemy? The Holy Scriptures are the most excellent source of what is useful, but it teaches us through mysteries that are beyond the reach of the young.¹⁷ Young eyes require analogies, the shadows and reflections of truth.¹⁸ As soldiers first train in gymnastics and dance before being taught the full military art, so young Christians require an education that begins with preliminary studies that are the shadows and reflections of the full Christian truth.¹⁹ We must remember that Basil has given his pupils an important Christian truth, the afterlife, by which to judge pagan literature; it is on the basis of the afterlife that we should associate with anyone who could bring us benefit, such as the poets, writers and orators. This afterlife has not, as yet, been divided into heaven and hell. We must first see the sun's reflection in the water and then with our eyes, but Basil has made the sun's reflection (pagan literature) more like the sun itself (Christian truth) by giving his pupils the perspective of another life.²⁰ The traditional virtues pagan literature intended to teach suddenly pale; fame, glory and even the example of Alexander himself seem diminished in the wider horizons beyond this life. Students view these virtues through the prism of the afterlife. Basil bridles the persuasive power of poetic language and uses it to turn the thoughts of the young in the proper direction. The erotic power of poetry, a power that could seduce and ruin the young, is a support for moral education.

3. Once the teacher has insured the steadfastness of the principle of afterlife in the young, a fuller encounter with pagan literature is permitted:

Now, if there is some affinity between the two bodies of teachings, knowledge of them should be useful to us; but if not, at least the fact that by setting them side by side we can discover the difference between them, is of no small importance for strengthening the position of the better.²¹

Pagan literature may serve as the foliage and raiment for the fruit of truth.²² Basil insures that the proper hierarchy is maintained by careful selection and interpretation of texts so as to strengthen the nascent standard of the afterlife with literary examples. Basil cites scriptural ex-

17 Basil, 4, p. 383. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1095a.

18 Basil, 4, p. 383. Plato, *Republic*, 506d-07a.

19 Ibid.

20 Basil, 4, p. 385. Cf. Plato, *Republic*, 514a.

21 Basil, 4, p. 385.

22 Ibid., p. 387.

amples to support his method: both Moses and Daniel first learned the pagan wisdom that surrounded them before going on to do the work of the Lord.²³ The young, though, are baffled by scriptural mystery, as Basil has said; the standard of the afterlife remains a habit to be inculcated. The Christian education for Basil begins with simple, unproblematic faith and hence requires a teacher of profound faith and wisdom to select and present texts that strengthen the habit of virtue in the young. The teacher shields the young from the more complex problems of faith, problems demanding greater self-control and knowledge than the young have, while the habit of faith takes root. Little by little, if the foundation is firm, more and more that is difficult and doubtful can be set upon it.

4. How should the young participate in pagan literature without damaging their own faith? Basil answers this question by drawing our attention to the proper actions of the teacher. Poets treat "subjects of every kind."²⁴ The young need writings of a particular kind. Hence, Basil reminds us of Socrates in his role as the founder of the just city in the *Republic* when he says that poets are to be cherished "whenever they recount for you the deeds or words of good men."²⁵ The poets speak of love affairs, drinking, the pleasures of the table, and the amorous exploits of the gods.²⁶ The charm of their speech praises something good at one moment, something unspeakably shameful at the next. Poetry may be praised for its beauty, independent of its truth or moral worth. The teacher must harmonize the beauty of the poet's speech with the beauty of truth; he must censure the texts and carefully select readings, for poetry's charm appeals to the passions and the passions must be controlled.²⁷ The true teacher will appear as one with the wisdom to yoke the beauty of the form to the beauty of moral virtue, thereby creating unusually powerful support for moral education. Like poets, orators, too, threaten to make the worse argument appear the stronger.²⁸ The readers must become like the bees who gather what is useful from the flowers and are never content with merely the sweet or the pleasant.²⁹ Basil returns to the image of the bees only after a three-section digression that aims to treat certain examples from pagan literature, examples that

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 Basil, 4, p. 387. *Republic*, 398a-b.

26 Basil, 4, p. 387. Cf. *Republic*, 377b-92a. Plutarch, "How the Young Man Should Study Poetry," *Moralia* in 14 volumes, trans. Frank Babbitt (Cambridge, 1949) 1, 74-197.

27 Hesiod, *Theogony*, trans. Richard Lattimore (Ann Arbor, 1973), p. 124. "We know how to say many false things, that seem like true sayings..."

28 Basil, 4, p. 391. Cf. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 12.1.23-25. The eloquent man who uses speech unjustly is not an orator.

29 Basil, 4, p. 391.

speak of self-control, anger and wealth; in these examples we see the teacher emerge most clearly.

5. Because virtue is a means to the afterlife, we should search for it everywhere. There is much virtue in the poets and historians, but "much more still in the philosophers."³⁰ Basil, for the time being, leaves the question of pagan philosophy at the status of this tantalizing hint; clearly in the younger souls, souls unaccustomed to patience and toil over books, philosophy is unsuitable. Like Scripture, it awaits older, more prudent men. Basil concerns himself with examples from poetry and rhetoric. Silently he indicates the way a teacher chooses and treats his texts. The saint agrees with Hesiod that virtue is better and more beautiful only later in life, after much struggle has been expended to obtain it.³¹ Vice is easy and pleasurable. The afterlife provides additional support for the hard road to virtue and infuses passages from pagan poetry with a new sense. Basil recalls a passage from Homer where the naked Odysseus confronts a princess; his nakedness is not shameful because he was "clothed in virtue." Yet if we turn to the passage in question, we find the following inner monologue as Odysseus meets the princess:

And Odysseus came,
debating inwardly what he should do:
embrace the beauty's knees in supplication?
Or stand apart, and, using honeyed speech,
inquire the way to town, or beg some clothing?
In his swift reckoning, he thought it best
to trust in words to please her—and keep away.³²

Basil ignores Odysseus' cleverness and the possibility that such an encounter might lead to seduction; he abstracts completely from the erotic nature of the body and presents nakedness in a way familiar to Christian iconography, i.e., where the naked body signifies innocence and virtue. The teacher is not interested in accurate literary criticism, but in disciplining the young from what they are most inclined to pursue.³³ The erotic nature of the body has no place in Basil's pedagogy; for its liberation would mark, not the beginning of freedom, but a terrible, terrible slavery. Basil cites two passages from pagan literature that treat of wealth. Solon would not exchange virtue for wealth because the former was unchanging, while the latter changes hands every day; Theognis' censure of wealth is interpreted by Basil to mean a support for the Christian love of poverty, but, in fact, the poet simply warns of the

30 Ibid., p. 393.

31 Ibid., p. 395. Cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, p. 53.

32 Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. Robert Fitzgerald (Garden City, 1961), p. 103.

33 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1095a.

changeableness of wealth, not that poverty is the better thing.³⁴ The saint can disparage wealth because it is clearly good only as a means of obtaining things for this life and for the body's comfort and sustenance; the afterlife exalts the soul over the body and the next life over this one, urging the teacher to adopt interpretations that accord with Basil's. The most interesting example of Basil's method occurs in his discussion of a story from the sophist, Prodikos, concerning the temptation of Herakles. As a youth, Herakles was approached by two women. The first was beautiful through the art of toiletry; she had led men to many pleasures and promised the same to Herakles. The second was withered and squalid but promised that if Herakles followed her, though there would be much sweating, toil and labor, the prize at the end would be to become a god. The hero resisted the erotic temptation in favor of a life of virtue and glory.³⁵ The ancients prized glory as a means of raising the ambitions of man above his own pleasures; it is the noblest passion. Yet such earthly glory for the Christian means little, for what is fame when compared to the salvation of the soul? Basil's interpretation of the story of Herakles transforms ancient glory into a passion for eternal reward, God's praise of the life well lived. Two examples concerning wealth are sandwiched between two concerning the rejection of erotic love. The entire section ascends toward a rejection of antiquity's highest notion of virtue, magnanimity, in favor of a passion for heavenly glory. The teacher carefully transforms and liberates the passions to seek out the higher things. He must prefer making his audience better to demonstrating his familiarity with the wealth of interpretations he has gleaned from the texts.

6. Basil continues his digression by warning of the danger of enjoying good deeds in speech while continuing to live a life of vice.³⁶ We are not like stage folks who play the roles of heroes but are actually slaves; one must not appear good without being good.³⁷ The analogy with the arts continues: no musician would willingly leave his lyre out of tune, nor would the leader of the chorus wish for his members to sing out of harmony. If the arts point to excellence and perfection as their end, so must human virtue. The problem of judging the real from the apparent will ultimately be overcome by an education that will make the young good in appearance and in actual fact; this education presupposes a teacher of real goodness. The young must acquire the habit of doing good, for habit leads ultimately to more sophisticated wisdom. Moderation and self-control are the foundation of wisdom and the other virtues. By insisting

34 Basil, 4, p. 397. Theognis, *Greek Elegy and Iambus*, in 2 vols., trans. J. M. Edmonds (Cambridge, 1968), 1, 246-47.

35 Basil, 4, pp. 397-99. Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 2.1.21-34.

36 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1105b.

37 Plato, *Republic*, 361a.

on the indivisible link between study and action, Basil restores the connection between imagination and life. If this link is preserved, great books become the most relevant and important of all tools for the formation of character. If the proper books are placed before a pupil with the desire to emulate the models he is given, he will soon demonstrate in his actions the efficacy of his reading. The teacher must choose the right books, but more importantly, he must inspire in his pupils the wish to do good. One of the great virtues of pagan literature is that it is inherently educational in intention; Basil retains this essential virtue by pruning some texts, rejecting others and transforming the standards by which these works are judged. But Basil solves the initial problem of yoking intention and deed in his pupils by presenting himself as good in word and in deed, as well; the true teacher is one who first cultivates the excellence of his own character. He must come to the young as one capable of guiding their souls without enslaving them. He must resist the temptations offered by an uncensored reading of the pagan poets, and he must be virtuous enough to inspire his pupils to act as he does. Basil wants his pupils to be able to read any book and encounter all the wiles of the world without losing their faith. This ultimate freedom rests upon habituation and self-control.

7. In the digression Basil first treated the use of pagan literature as an aid to self-control (5.), and then he insured that his pupils would act as they read and think (6.). Now he turns to the wisdom preserved in the oral and written tradition in order to begin to lay the groundwork for a transition to scripture. He praises Pericles and Eucleides for their patience in the face of abuse and enmity, using these examples as demonstrations of the need to control one's anger. Socrates is praised for withstanding the blows of an adversary without returning them, extracting his revenge by the shame the other man felt from beating him. Though scriptural passages could be found to support these examples, especially in the way the saint interprets them, they are not cited. Basil cites the Bible only after telling of Alexander the Great's refusal to be conquered by women after he had conquered men. This reminds Basil of Christ's admonition against looking upon a woman with lust (Mt 5.28). Scripture is cited first and foremost in support of self-control; the link between biblical admonition and pagan anecdote transforms the latter from a story about the necessity of self-control for the great-souled into a chastisement of lust. The ground has been carefully prepared for the introduction of Scripture by the habituation of self-control and the practice of doing good. The young are ready finally to read the Scripture because their lives are already imperfect reflections of its teachings.

8. Saint Basil returns to the image of the bees. Section 4 ended with the admonition to seek usefulness, not simply what is pleasant and easy, as the bees do when they go to those flowers that give substances useful for

the production of honey. The digression spoke of how to use the desire for the pleasurable and transform it into a desire for the useful. Now the full introduction of Christian truths must be dealt with. Basil proceeds by analogy. Is it possible that a pilot or an archer or a worker in bronze has an end for his activity but not for his life as a whole?³⁸ Basil uses examples of men in full possession of an art, not of those still learning the preparatory arts as in section 2. Just as a wrestler or a flutist goes through much hardship to acquire the end of their art—victory at the games or excellence in flute playing—we, who have a much higher goal, should be willing to undergo untold hardships to reach the end envisioned.³⁹ An education in self-control prepares the way for these hardships. "It is hard to be good," quotes Basil; but those who do not surmount the difficulties in their way are far more foolish than the wrestler or the flutist who fails in his training, for they have lost eternal fruits.⁴⁰ Those who fail will be punished many times over for their sins by God.⁴¹ Basil now reveals the full Christian teaching about the afterlife: there is a judgment that proceeds it and people are rewarded and punished for their lives. Basil reveals the full truth only after the foundation for virtue has been laid through habit. The simple standard of the afterlife was enough to habituate the young and to direct their reading of the pagan poets; now a further support for virtue is revealed. The teacher is free to return the rudders of the minds of the young to their own hands. A new kind of education begins.

9. A new level of discussion begins, as well. Basil practically discards the poets. Now that the true consequences of their actions are clear, the young return to old questions with a new seriousness. What then should they do? They must prepare for future life and judgment. We must not be slaves to the body.⁴² Pleasure is now seen to be not simply a stumbling block to better actions, but to eternal happiness, as well. Our souls should supply all things which are best "through philosophy freeing them, as from a prison..."⁴³ Poetry is a kind of sorcery unworthy of a free man; philosophy seems to replace it. Basil cites several pagan examples of eternal punishment to support our neglect of the body. We must avoid excess in care for dress or the hair; Basil cites a saying of Diogenes in favor of this.⁴⁴ Our task is to know ourselves; but unless we are purified, self-knowledge will be hidden from us as the sun is hidden from a bleary-eyed man. Basil speaks of the full sun, not its reflections

38 Basil, 4, p. 407. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1094a-b.

39 Basil, 4, pp. 409-13.

40 Plato, *Protagoras*, 340c.

41 Basil, 4, p. 413.

42 Ibid., p. 415.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., p. 417. Diogenes Laertius, 6.54.

and shadows as in section 2.⁴⁵ The young must stand and face the sun itself. The soul is purified by avoiding jugglers, erotic sights and licentious songs, but the banishment of music is not total; for Basil approves of the music David used to purge the soul of Saul.⁴⁶ A second example is offered, as well: Pythagoras once sobered up a group of drunken revelers by ordering the flutist to play in the Doric mode. Both the prophet and the philosopher reveal to us the proper music, the one by playing it and the other by ordering it to be played.⁴⁷ The discussion of philosophy raised and dropped by Basil in section 5 is now in full bloom. There should be no perfumes for the body.⁴⁸ Basil chastises the "slime of bodily pleasures," approving of Plato's advice to avoid excessive care of the body during concupiscence and likening it to Saint Paul's.⁴⁹ Basil praises the example set by Plato, who lived in the unhealthiest part of the city at his academy rather than leaving it for the safety of his body.⁵⁰ If the body is to be scorned, so must external things be scorned, as well; for these things are particularly meaningless when separated from the desires of the body. Basil cites Theognis' words praising those who avoid wealth and, hence, injustice; he recalls Diogenes' claim that he was richer than a great king because he was more self-sufficient.⁵¹ Socrates would praise a wealthy man only if he knew how to use his riches, notes Basil; the sculptors, Pheidias and Polycleitos, are worthy of emulation because they turned gold and ivory into statues of the gods.⁵² Finally, Basil warns his pupils about flattery, a misuse of words and, hence, related to the problem of reading poetry.⁵³

10. Scripture is the source of our wisdom, though a rough sketch can be found in pagan literature.⁵⁴ Basil rejects a saying of Hesiod, a poet, on how things should be gathered little by little in favor of one by Bias on how we must be forever gathering travel supplies for our life's journey.⁵⁵ Poetry is rejected for philosophy. The saint rejects two *exempla* from pagan literature (Tithonios, Araginthonios) and one from the Old Testament (Methusala) that portray long life, for even the longest life pales before eternity:

45 Basil, 4, p. 417. Plato, *Phaedo*, 75a ff. and 115a ff.

46 I Kg 16.15-23.

47 Basil, 4, p. 419. Cf. Plato, *Republic*, 499a ff. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1341b ff.

48 Basil, 4, p. 419.

49 Plato, *Republic*, 498b-c. Rom 13.14.

50 Basil, 4, p. 423.

51 Ibid., p. 425.

52 Ibid., p. 427.

53 Ibid., p. 428.

54 Ibid., p. 431.

55 Hesiod, *Works and Days*, p. 61. Diogenes Laertius, 1.88.

I shall laugh thereat at a childish idea
 when I gaze towards the long and ageless
 eternity whose limit the mind can in no
 wise grasp any more than it can conceive
 an end for the immortal soul.⁵⁷

Basil agrees with a saying of Pythagoras, though he is unnamed in the text, that one should choose the best way of life and make it sweet by habit.⁵⁸ Youth is the best time to acquire such habits, for they will be hard to acquire later on. Basil ends with the warning that, though there are those who wisely seek out doctors or call them to their homes when illness strikes, his age is characterized by those who will not even admit the physician when he comes to call.⁵⁹ The physician calls to mind Christ, and Socrates, as well. Pagan poetry, history and even a story from the Old Testament wither away in the face of Basil's vision of the eternal things. Philosophy remains. Basil has led the young from a time of ignorance to a time of self-diagnosis. The teacher gladly relinquishes his monarchy and returns to being one among many seeking after the truths the physician brings.

B.

Basil's art of writing consists in combining advice to the young with the revelation of the person capable of insuring that the advice takes hold; he succeeds by showing that the two aims are so intimately related as to be one. The young do not understand the full implications of their actions and, therefore, full freedom must be denied them until the proper foundation is laid in habit. Unless we believe that full freedom comes of its own or, perhaps, drops from the skies unsummoned, the role of the wise teacher is obvious.⁶⁰ Basil prepares for his charges a more salutary understanding of the afterlife until they are ready to comprehend the full implications of heaven and hell.⁶¹ He suggests that the young are not free and that freedom is impossible without a period of restraint and control.

That control begins with the selection of the poets and their interpretation. I have argued that Basil rejects the moral and religious content of ancient poetry by transforming the reader of it. The teacher places him-

56 Homer, *The Homeric Hymns*, trans. A. Athanassakis (Baltimore, 1976), p. 53. Herodotus, 1.6.3. Gen 5.25.

57 Basil, 4, pp. 431-33. Cf. Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, 2.6.

58 Basil, 4, p.433.

59 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1105b.

60 Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 4 vols., trans. H. E. Butler (Cambridge, 1953), 4.383. There are ... "those who regard morality as intuitive and as owing nothing to instruction: indeed, they go so far as acknowledge that handicrafts, not excluding even those which are most despised among them, can only be acquired by the result of teaching, whereas virtue, which of all gifts to man is that which makes him most nearly akin to the immortal gods, comes to him without search or effort, as a natural concomitant of birth." 12.2.2.

self and his tradition as a screen before the pagan texts; everything they say appears in a different light. The transformation of the reader stands at the heart of Basil's project. The poetry of antiquity is limited in its usefulness; it can be used to channel the passions, but once a young man has obtained self-control, it is better to forget poetry all together. Poetry is not effective as an aid in moral education without the guardianship of a wise teacher.

But the question of philosophy remains. Basil praises the philosophers and his vision of eternity does not banish them. The ambiguity of the final image of the physician causes the truly free man to seek benefit from anyone who can heal the soul. Philosophy, hence, human reason, liberates, for Basil, when yoked to divine wisdom. However, philosophy also presents a danger. The improper exaltation of human reason can destroy the horizon of revelation, a horizon that must be present if God is to reign. Philosophy must be bridled; it cannot run wild or it destroys the Christian mysteries. Basil's education is that bridle; it can be because the young have Basil's example ever before them. He has always acted in their interests and his words can be trusted. The model of the teacher presented by Basil remains in the soul of the young long after the day-to-day control of the teacher has vanished; for the perfect teacher turns out to approximate the good man, the man with the harmonious soul. He lives the life he teaches and inspires his pupils toward that life. He, too, is still on the way to perfection and he shares what he has learned freely, for what he seeks is not diluted by sharing. He rightly inherits honor equal to, or greater than, the parents of the young; for he has given them not merely life, but the good life.⁶²

The young, thus, read philosophy and approach it as Basil has. They inherit his spirit. This is the heart of Basil's tolerance; for he is not quick to condemn what is different from his faith, but is always seeking to find in it something useful for the Christian life. Thus, Basil would applaud the judgment of Augustine, who wrote:

Porro si sapientia Deus est, per quem
facta sunt omnia, sicut divina
auctoritas veritasque monstravit,
verus philosophus est amator Dei.⁶³

62 Diogenes Laertius, 5.19.

63 Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 8.1.

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GEORGE MANTZARIDES

THE DIVINE LITURGY AND THE WORLD

“My father is working still, and I am working” (Jn 5.17). The work of God the Father and of Christ for the world is that work which is realized for the perfection of the world. Moreover, the perfection of the world, which is God’s creation, presupposes the world’s participation in God’s work. The world’s participation in the work which God realizes for it constitutes its ministry (λειτουργία). By participating in God’s work, the world ministers and is liturgized. This ministry of the world is carried out with one aim in view; it is done with the perspective that God offers to the world, and that is the world’s perfection.

Without the perspective which God offers to the world, any movement or direction the world takes is essentially purposeless. The world’s life itself is purposeless, because it cannot have any meaning whatsoever. Its life becomes a sort of death that can only serve death. Moreover, the people living this life are not actually living, but are the walking dead; they are the dead that bury “their own dead” (Mt 8.22).

On the phenomenal level, life appears as movement which is manifested either as energy or as passion. It is expressed as energy when it affirms human nature, and as passion when it denies or surpasses human nature. Saint Maximos the Confessor notes the following:

That of effecting is one principle, and that of experiencing is another. On the one hand, the principle of effecting is the natural power to accomplish virtues. On the other hand, the principle of experiencing is either the acceptance of the grace for that which is beyond nature or the agreement with that which is contrary to nature. For as we do not have the natural power for the beyond-being, thus neither do we have the power by nature for the non-being. Therefore we experience as being beyond nature by grace, but we cannot effect deification for we do not have by nature the power capable of it. Again, we experience as being against nature by the agreement of our free will with evil, for we do not have the natural power to do evil. Therefore, while we are here, we perform virtues by nature since we have the natural power to do so.¹

From the viewpoint of the natural sciences, man is the most unnatural thing in nature. The most natural things are the elements of nature. Man becomes more natural when he is disintegrated into the natural elements

¹ *Κεφάλαια διάφορα* 1.75, PG 90:1209C.

that compose him, in other words when he dies.

Yet man is not a mere natural being, but the ecstatic being in the world. An ecstatic being means one that surpasses itself and is turned toward something outside of itself. In theological language, man's ecstatic nature is indicated by his distinction as a creature "according to the image and likeness of God." An image does not have meaning except in relation to that which it reflects. Moreover, likeness is incomprehensible without reverence to a prototype. Consequently, man as a creature "according to the image and likeness of God" cannot be understood independently of God. With this presupposition, man's relation to God comprises his "natural" condition. Moreover, the lack of this relationship is not merely a moral omission, but a basic ontological fall, just as Saint Gregory of Nyssa notes: "For nothing would remain in existence if it did not remain in the being. Moreover, the foremost and primary being is the divine being. The fact that all things remain in existence compels us to believe that this divine being exists in them."² Thus, man's preservation within the state of being is not a static event, but rather a dynamic one which is realized as his transcendence over continually threatening annihilation. This transcendence is not understood except in relation to the being, namely God, that can preserve man in a state of existence. Therefore, man's relation to God is his ontological need and indispensable presupposition for the preservation of his "natural" condition.

The life of virtue corresponds to man's natural condition. As Saint Maximos the Confessor observes: "Therefore, while we are here, we perform virtues by nature, since we have the natural power to do so." Just as man's natural condition has an ecstatic character, so, too, does his natural life, the life of virtue, have an ecstatic character; that is, it surpasses man and is turned outside of him. This means that the worth of man or of his life cannot be realized within the bounds of his natural energy but far beyond them.

Indeed, man cannot stay within the bounds of his natural virtue, and for this reason he is unavoidably led to passion. Passion responds to man's ecstatic character exactly because it carries him outside himself. This means that passion also responds to man's natural life, to the life of virtue, for it too has an ecstatic character. Thus, the full realization of man and of his virtues is found unavoidably in passion.

Passion though, as Saint Maximos comments, appears either as "the acceptance of the grace for that which is beyond nature" or as "the agreement with that which is contrary to nature." The "supernatural grace," or "supernatural passion," which also gives value to the realization of man's natural being, keeps man within the perspective of his ontological existence as an image of God. On the contrary, agreement with that which

² Gregory of Nyssa, *Κατηχητικός* 32, ed. Srawley, p. 119.

is contrary to nature or “unnatural” passion diverts man from his ontological perspective and alienates him. Supernatural passion is unlimited perfection, whereas unnatural passion is the fall into non-existence. “Supernatural passion is unlimited since it is active, while unnatural passion is inactive.”³

Whatever is applicable for man is valid for the world in its totality. The whole world has its cause and relation in the Logos of God, “for in him were all things created” (Col 1.16). As an image of the Logos of God to whom the principles (λόγοι) of all things refer back, man recapitulates the principles of all things according to the image of God the Logos. For this reason, in patristic writings, man is characterized as a microcosm and link of all creation.⁴

Thus, man is the only means of relation between the world and God. Man is the priest of the world who is called to perform the cosmic liturgy. Yet when he himself does not do this but lives aimlessly, then the world is not oriented towards its purpose but moves aimlessly along with man; “the whole creation has been groaning in travail together until now” (Rom 8.22). Thus, the world’s relation with God became impossible after man’s fall. The world, deprived of man’s supernatural passion, is not simply confined to the natural, but is unavoidably led to the unnatural.

Whatever is natural in the world is defined by time. The world exists and moves in time. Whatever occurs in the world takes place in time and is defined by time. Moreover, whatever man does or thinks, he does or thinks within time and under its definitive power. Time then defines the world without being defined by it. Simultaneously, though, time is interwoven with the world which it defines and is not understood independently of it. This means that time, which defines the world, is defined in turn by some other reality which is inaccessible to the world because it is beyond time. This reality is supernatural reality, the reality of God.

This supernatural reality is inaccessible and incomprehensible for the world because the world, which is unable to act or think independently of time, is incapable of knowing or understanding anything outside of itself whatsoever. This is why God, who is inaccessible and incomprehensible to the world, is revealed in time and finally becomes himself a man to be known by men. In this case time, which is lifted as a separating barrier between the natural and the supernatural, between the cosmic and the transcendental, is transformed into a linking bond. Thus, the world—and specifically man who lives in time and cannot do anything without it—receives the revelation of the transcendental in time and participates in it by means of time.

3 Maximos the Confessor, *Κεφάλαια διάφορα* 1.77, PG 90:1212B.

4 See Methodios of Olympus, *Περὶ ἀναστάσεως* 2.10; Gregory the Theologian, *Λόγος* 38.11, PG 36:324A; Kosmas Indikopleustes, *Χριστιανική Τοπογραφία* 5, PG 88:230A.

God's work in the world is realized exclusively for the world. The very presence of God as a man within the world is made with the unique objective of the realization of man.

The Lord, who is uncreated in his own divinity, became whatever he became for us. The life which he lived he lived for us, showing us the way which leads us back to true life. Whatever he suffered in his flesh he suffered for us, healing our passions. On account of our sin, he was led to death and he rose and ascended for us, providing for us the resurrection and ascension forever.⁵

God's work for the world is summarized and continued in the Divine Liturgy. For this reason the importance of the Divine Liturgy for the world is primary. The essence of the Divine Liturgy is the Holy Eucharist, the remembrance of Christ. However, what is this remembrance of Christ and how is it made?

Nicholas Kabasilas notes that the remembrance of Christ is not made with the remembrance of his powerful deeds, but with the remembrance of his weakness and death. Thus, for his remembrance he did not ask us to recall that he resurrected the dead, gave sight to the blind, rebuked the winds, etc. "Rather we must remember those events which seem to denote nothing but weakness: his cross, his passion, his death—these are the happenings which he asks us to commemorate."⁶

Saint Paul addressing the Christians of Corinth wrote the following:

For I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it, and said, 'This is my body which is broken for you. Do this in remembrance of me.' In the same way also the cup, after supper, saying, 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me' (1 Cor 11.23-25).

However, the remembrance of the passion and death of Christ, as a remembrance of the same Christ who arose, is always made within the light of his resurrection. It is characteristic that the day *par excellence* of this remembrance, the day of the Holy Eucharist, is not Friday but Sunday. Furthermore, it should be noted that on the day of Christ's passion, Great and Holy Friday, the Orthodox Church does not allow the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. The Divine Liturgy is the remembrance of Christ's passion and death which only has meaning in the light of his resurrection.

The remembrance of Christ, the Holy Eucharist, essentially summarizes the tradition of the Church. This tradition, as revealed in the

⁵ Gregory Palamas, *Homily 21*, PG 151:277AB

⁶ J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty, trans., *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* (New York, 1977), p. 36.

very Eucharist does not aim to preserve the remembrance of one event in time, but to transfigure time and the world which exists in time, uniting time with its truth. As that supper by which the many become "one body" (1 Cor 10.17), the Holy Eucharist puts against time an intertemporal reality, the Church, which has its foundation in the person of Christ. In this way the Church initiates man's, and with him the whole world's, relation to God. Thus, whatever the first Adam and his descendants did not accomplish, the new Adam, Christ—and in Christ the whole eucharistic body, the Church—does accomplish. In the Eucharist, therefore, the Church serves as the priest of the world and offers the world to God.⁷

This new reality that is revealed in the Church surpasses the definitive power of time and functions in the world as an expression of God's presence. The Church's body, which is the very body of Christ, reveals the mystery of the triadic communion in the world and encompasses man within it. Just as each person of the Holy Trinity exists integrally by itself, each also exists wholly in each of the other persons of the Trinity, and furthermore exists wholly in the totality of the triadic communion. Thus, Christ—and similarly the Trinitarian God—exists totally in himself, exists wholly in every believer, and also exists wholly in the total communion of the faithful, in the Church.⁸

Usually, we identify the resurrected body of Christ with the body which his disciples saw during his various appearances from the resurrection to the ascension, and we forget that the resurrected body of Christ is also the Church, the Church not as an established institution, but as a eucharistic communion, a communion of deification. Christ was not resurrected for himself but for the world. Moreover, the resurrected Christ is not only the person of the resurrected Logos of God, who in fact was never found under death's authority; he is also the Church.⁹

The Church is extended into the world by means of the Holy Eucharist. Each of the faithful who participates in the Holy Eucharist is united with the body of Christ to which all the other faithful of the Church also belong—not only the living, but also those who lived in the past and those who will live in the future. The body of Christ surpasses time and space and joins all its members in the triadic communion where all things are present and live in the Lord. Within the body of Christ, namely in the Church, there is neither lost time nor lost people. Whatever God did in the past for the salvation of the world exists always as present and can be made accessible to each person. For this reason, every year,

7 See J. Zizioulas, "L'eucharistie: Quelques aspects bibliques" *L'eucharistie (Eglises en dialogue 12)* (Mame, 1970), p. 65.

8 See D. Staniloae, *Μυσταγωγία τοῦ Ἁγίου Μαξίμου τοῦ Ὁμολογητοῦ* (Athens, 1973), p. 209, note 65.

9 See also W. Pannenberg, "Die Auferstehung Jesu und die Zukunft des Menschen," in *Kerygma und Dogma 24* (1978), 114ff.

and in fact every day of the year, the Church succinctly presents the whole mystery of God's work for the salvation of the world. Thus, within the yearly cycle of feasts, the Church celebrates the Annunciation of the Theotokos, the Nativity of Christ, his baptism, his teaching and ministry, the Transfiguration, the cross, the burial, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and finally Pentecost.

Each one of these feast days is not a mere remembrance, but a liturgical repetition of that day on which the celebrated event actually took place. In this way, for example, the feast day of the Annunciation repeats liturgically the revelation of "the hidden mystery of the ages"; "Today [is] the beginning of our salvation and the revelation of the mystery of the ages." The same also holds true for the feast days of the Nativity or the Crucifixion of Christ. Each of these feasts is not a mere remembrance but a liturgical repetition of the corresponding event which was actualized within human history. "Today Christ is born of a virgin in Bethlehem" or "Today he who hung the earth on waters is hung on a cross." Thus, within the framework of each separate day, the Church lives and presents the fundamental events of divine economy. Thus, for example, at the third hour we are carried liturgically to the descent of the Holy Spirit, at the sixth hour to the crucifixion, and at the ninth hour to Christ's death.

Distance of time and place are annihilated, and all things become present in Christ. Just as Christ as the Lord of glory is beyond time and place, so too whatever belongs to his body or whatever relates to it also surpasses time and place and is preserved eternally present. This is why Christians who abandon this world are not considered dead but "asleep." They are not lost in the oblivion of time, but remain immortal in the Church's memory. The Theotokos, John the Forerunner, the apostles, the prophets, the righteous, the saints, and all those who have fallen asleep in the Lord live in the Church triumphant, which comprises the organic continuation of the militant Church in which we live today.

This truth is expressed in an incomparable way in the very chalice of the Holy Eucharist. As we all know, not only is the "Lamb," namely the body of Christ, placed in the chalice, but finally also the portions for the Theotokos, the apostles, and all the saints. In this way, the faithful, participating in the holy cup, participate in the whole body of the Church which has Christ as its head and all those, living or asleep, who believe in him as its members.

Exactly for this reason is Holy Communion of essential importance for the life of the world. It is the signpost for the world's life which does not lead it only as far as death, but which gives it worth even beyond death. As it was correctly noted: "Life which lacks the infinite, unlimited dimensions of death is lifelessness and death itself. This is why life which is as powerful as death has as its gate the death of everything

corruptible.”¹⁰

The Holy Eucharist, as we all know, is not a mystery which is repeated, but a mystery which is celebrated continually “for the life of the world.” It is not actualized outside the world, nor does it take place along the margin of the world. The Holy Eucharist takes place at the heart of the world, and without it the world cannot truly live.

The Eucharist is essentially completed in Christ, and thus it can be celebrated continually. God, “who is rich in mercy, out of the great love with which he loved us. . . made us alive together with Christ. . . and raised us up with him, and made us sit with him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus” (Eph 2.4-6).

The world is not called to realize the Holy Eucharist, but to participate in it. The Holy Eucharist is the liturgy in which the world is invited to participate. It is invited to participate because otherwise it will not be able to function. Everything which exists in the world finds its place in the Divine Liturgy and is liturgized. Along with the world, the history of the world is also liturgized because Christ is also the Lord of history. But in order to bring something to the liturgy, it is imperative that it be baptized; in other words, that it die on the phenomenal level. Here lies the great challenge for the world.

People that are far from God think they are secure only on the phenomenal level. Thus, they refuse to become transparent and to find themselves again on a higher plane. For Christianity though, “good does not reside in what our eyes can see; the fact that Jesus Christ is now within the Father is why we perceive him so much the more clearly.”¹¹ The truth for the world and man is found beyond the deceptiveness of phenomena. For this reason, all that is worldly or human finds its value only as a symbol of the eucharistic reference to God.

The whole Divine Liturgy has a symbolic character. Nicholas Kabasilas in his *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* observes:

Not only the chants and readings but the very actions themselves have this part to play; each has its own immediate purpose and usefulness. But at the same time each symbolizes some part of the works of Christ, his deeds or his sufferings. For example, we have the bringing of the Gospel to the altar, then the bringing of the offerings. Each is done for a purpose, the one that the Gospel may be read, the other that the sacrifice may be performed; besides this, however, one represents the appearance and the other the manifestation of the Saviour; the first, obscure and imperfect, at the beginning of his life; the second, the perfect and supreme manifestation.¹²

¹⁰ Archimandrite Vasilios, *Εισοδικόν* (Mount Athos, 1974), p. 104.

¹¹ Ignatios of Antioch, *To the Romans* 3.3 in *Early Christian Writings* (New York, 1978), p. 104.

¹² PG 150:372CD.

The Divine Liturgy, unravels itself symbolically and offers itself by means of perceptible symbols. Man participates in the liturgy with these perceptible symbols of the Divine Liturgy. In the Divine Liturgy the whole world is wholly recapitulated. So the whole world also becomes simultaneously a symbol. Man, who participates in the liturgy, discovers in its perceptible symbols the world's true symbolic meaning. When the perceptible also ceases to be symbols, then the liturgy stops being divine.

Today, we are undergoing the problem of man's participation in the Divine Liturgy. What is usually suggested as a panacea for the solution of this problem is the translation of the Divine Liturgy into the vernacular of the faithful. The language of the Divine Liturgy, so it is said, is usually not comprehensible to the average believer of our times. To help him participate in the liturgy, we must translate the Divine Liturgy into his language.

However, the language consists of a partial area within the very wide symbolic system of the Divine Liturgy. Thus, for example, aside from the language, we have various liturgical acts, the way of delivering the readings, the music, painting, and architecture. All these comprise the language of the Divine Liturgy in the wider sense of the word. This is why an attempt that aims at making the Divine Liturgy comprehensible to today's man cannot be limited to the translation of its texts, but must also be extended to the translation of all the other symbolic means with which the Divine Liturgy is associated and which comprise its language in the wider sense of the word.

However, all of the symbols or expressive means of the Divine Liturgy which were formulated over a prolonged period of natural development corresponding to the spiritual development of their bearers, are received by us as established objectifications. These objectifications simultaneously comprise means, but also obstacles for our participation in church. They are means of our participation because they were created and used for the same goal. They are also obstacles precisely because they are offered as objectifications of the spiritual life of generations that lived in times and conditions which are very distant from us.

Therefore, the problem of the contemporary world's participation in the Divine Liturgy is a widespread and complicated one that demands a catholic and many-faceted confrontation. For us to participate correctly in the liturgy today, a liturgy in our language is not enough. Even more so, a translation of the traditional liturgy into today's language does not suffice because in this case, aside from its inadequacy, the illusion of fulfillment will exist. For us to participate correctly in church, we need the proper churches, the proper icons, the proper texts, the proper music, the proper expressive symbols, we must start from nothing, at which we have just arrived. To begin properly, we need to begin seeing the world symbolically once again. In this perspective, the whole world becomes a

symbol of the personal relationship of God with man and of man with God. Within the bounds of this symbolic relation, man and the world find their realization.

Translated by Ioanna Buttlar Clarke

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KEITH BRIDSTON

THE FUTURE OF MISSION AS ECUMENICAL ACTIVITY

"Basil was the first bishop who united episcopacy and monasticism in one social mission" (Lawther Clarke).

As one reads the story of the life of Basil the Great, one is struck by the fact that he seems in his life and work to represent personally and microcosmically the nature of the Church. That 'being' of the Church, it appears to me, is essentially dialectical. This might be approached in many ways, but in view of my topic, I would like to approach this from the standpoint of the dialectical relation between Church and mission. This has, of course, been a perennial topic on the ecumenical agenda and a theme which has provoked a continuous discussion. Are Church and mission contradictory? Complementary? Unrelated? Of course, part of the problem has to do with definitions of the terms. As Gregory of Nazianzos pointed out (as Athanasios had himself done at the Synod of Alexandria), theological consensus between Greeks and Latins was difficult because they "were trying to say the same thing in different languages."¹

The Latins thought as we; but because of the poverty of their language and the lack of vocabulary, they could not distinguish hypostasis from essence. Therefore, to avoid talking of three essences, they brought in the word 'persona.' What is the result? An utterly ridiculous, indeed, lamentable disagreement...new disputes arise daily. We see the whole world in danger of perishing for a few syllables.²

But outside of the terminological and linguistic questions, the relation of Church and mission still seems to perplex us in the ecumenical dialogue. And here the history of Basil the Great may be illuminating. What is the surprise which Lawther Clarke finds in the fact that Basil "united episcopacy and monasticism in one social mission?"

I think that it may be found in the movement in Basil's life from ascetic/monastic to social activist/church politician. Is this to be considered some kind of exotic ecclesiastical or religious schizophrenia? Not at all, in my opinion. What it represents is the perennial and essential

¹ Maisie Ward, "Saint Basil and the Cappadocians," *Word and Spirit: A Monastic Review* (Still River, Ma., 1979), p. 23.

² Ibid.

dialectic in the Christian life and in the Church's corporate existence between the interior and the exterior, between the centripetal and the centrifugal, between integration and expansion. In fact, the rules of Basil for monastic life represent this in rationally balancing the interior and exterior claims on the Christian community in its life in the world. These should be, the rules suggest, introspection and projection, love of God and one's self, and service to one's neighbor. There is interior meditation and cultivation and exterior proclamation, witness, and service. As bishop, Basil saw that it was his calling to help the Church serve itself, its diaconal dimension, and serve the world, its apostolic function.

In that sense Church and mission are indivisible—like the earlier Latins and Greeks we are limited (in English at least) by the 'poverty' of our language. But one could put it another way. Emile Burnner once noted that "the Church exists by mission as a fire exists by burning." So we might, as one has observed in regard to modern physics, affirm that "mission" is a way of talking about the Church 'in verbs rather than nouns.' And to put it another way, mission is a functional way of defining the Church rather than a structural and institutional way. The point is that they are not mutually exclusive or contradictory, as the life of Basil so graphically and dramatically demonstrated.

We are considering the future of the ecumenical movement, and, thus, I believe of all of our separate futures as a common future. If we look at this under the category of mission, then I think we may find some hopeful and liberating insights in viewing that common future with hope.

Let us focus on the problem of identity. In the course of ecumenical participation we find questions raised about others' identities. Who are the Orthodox? What is a Lutheran? How can one identify an Anglican? But we also find ourselves questioning our own ecclesiastical and confessional identities within the ecumenical context and within the ecumenical fellowship. Granted that there are legitimate historical reasons for Lutheranism (though Luther himself did not like the term), is there now a *raison d'être* for a separate Lutheran identity? Personally, I don't think we will find an answer to that question by going back to the Augsburg Confession, even if we do it hand-in-hand with the Roman Catholics (as we are in fact doing at this time in celebration of the Confession's 450th anniversary). Rather, I think the solution to the problem of our identities is going to be found in a common mission, converging together in a common future.

Here we need some new conceptual models. For example, one of the problems we face individually and together ecumenically is that of the tension between continuity and change. Change appears to threaten continuity, and thus a given historical identity. But must they be irreconcilable? No! And here is where some new conceptual models may be of assistance to us.

I would like to consider three: A *philosophical* model, a *psychological*

model, and an *aesthetic* model.

The Philosophical Model—Alfred North Whitehead

In the book, *Modes of Thought*, A. N. Whitehead raises the question of the relation between identity and what he calls “novelty.” He says, “Complete self-identity can never be preserved in an advance to novelty. The only question is as to whether the loss is relevant to the purposes of the argument. The baby in the cradle and the grown man in middle age are in some senses identical, and in other senses diverse.”³ In another place he talks about “self-identity [as] an interesting fable.”⁴

In part, what he is getting at is that sometimes it is a useful “fable,” that is, in terms of law having a name (continuous identity) so that wills can be made and property inherited. In other cases (or uses) the “fable” of unchanging identity is not so helpful. Perhaps you may intuit what ecclesiastical and ecumenical analogies there may be in this. But more of that later.

The point is that Whitehead is trying to help us understand identity in more dynamic terms and categories. Whitehead identifies two Greeks, Plato and Aristotle, as members of the group of four philosophers who he believes are the ‘great thinkers’ in Western literature. And he is trying to suggest a necessary complementariness between Plato’s emphasis on the changeless world of forms and Aristotle’s stress on life, motion, and activity.

Returning to our original point, Whitehead affirms that “Nothing realized as matter-of-fact retains complete identity with its antecedent self.” That is because there is change and novelty and, as he points out, “laws of change are themselves liable to change.” What then of continuity and historic identity? Whitehead’s answer, much simplified, is that the “form of transition” as “process” is itself the essential identity. The admission and incorporation of “novelty” is necessary for the full identity to be realized.”⁵

Here we cannot help but be reminded of Saint Paul’s references to the analogy of human growth and development in the spiritual life. We are to “grow up,” we are to “put away childish things” (even in this Year of the Child); and ultimately, through this resurrection, we look forward to all things being “changed.” Saint Paul does not propose that our identity is to remain that of the “baby in the cradle” (to use Whitehead’s image), but as an identity which is to be realized in the future as we move toward maturity, a maturity to be measured by the standard of Christ the Head, who is the ultimate form of maturity and the model of an eschatological

3 Alfred North Whitehead, *Modes of Thoughts* (Boston, n.d.), p. 146.

4 Ibid., p. 129.

5 Ibid., p. 148.

identity. "We shall all be changed...in the twinkling of an eye" for which ultimate change means being prepared by the continual change, that is, growth in our life of faith.

The Psychological Model—Sigmund Freud

Another dynamic, conceptual model in relation to identity is found in the modern psycho-analytic movement. Freud and his descendants brought to our attention the fact that a personal identity is the result of a process of development, as Robert W. White, the Harvard psychologist, terms it "identification as a process of development."⁶ Among other things he suggests that "identification" of the human person goes beyond man's "imitation" of parents and other models of the past. "Identification" involves the development of "self-esteem," but not so far as "narcissism," that is, "inflated" ego, self-love. There is not the space here to refer to Piaget's studies in child development, to Erik Erikson's "epigenetic" chart with its eight stages of growth from childhood trust to mature faith, or even to Freud's own analysis of the conscious and unconscious forces which in our development make us what we are and shape our identity.⁷

Again, the point is that identity (as with Whitehead) is seen in dynamic and developmental categories. There are again some suggestive analogies if we think about the problems of the ecumenical movement and the identities of our churches within it. For example, the anxiety about our identity, often provoked by change and novelty, can create paralysis. And we can turn away from the future by denial, fantasy, and regression—regression often taking the form of an attempt to return to a previous, more simple and less complicated stage of development—the wish to "return to the womb" syndrome. But here, as with Saint Paul, the goal is forward, toward maturity. Clara Thompson's definition is "the increasing capacity to tolerate ambiguity."

One final point on the approach of developmental psychology is the question of maturity and identity. The process is open-ended and never-ending as Ernest Jones, Freud's colleague and biographer, observes: "Few, if any, psychoanalyses are ever completed... Freud told me he never ceased to analyze himself, devoting the last half hour of his day to that purpose." Jones intentionally, as he says, entitled his chapter on this phase of Freud's life "Self-Analysis, 1897-."⁸

Do we not see here again some very suggestive parallels to the interior

6 Robert W. White, "Ego and Reality in Psychoanalytic Theory," *Psychological Issues Monograph* 11, 3 (1963).

7. Erik H. Erikson, ed. *Adulthood* (New York, 1961). See also Erik H. Erikson, "Autobiographic Notes on the Identity Crisis," *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* Fall (1970), 730ff.

8 Ernest Jones, ed., *Life and Work of Sigmund Freud* (New York, 1961).

and exterior dimensions of the spiritual pilgrimages and the introverted and extroverted dimensions of the Church's existence?

The Aesthetic Model—Frank Lloyd Wright

Another suggestive dynamic model for considering identity in relation to the problem of continuity and change is found in the writings and works of Frank Lloyd Wright, the American architect.

Here I must be very brief, but it may surprise you, if you have seen some of his buildings, that he identifies himself as a 'Gothic' architect. Why? What entitles him to this identity? Why does he desire to have it? To him the essential genius of the Gothic architect was the ability to make form subservient to function. And Wright's basic motif was "Form Follows Function." He does not imitate the Gothic style—he follows the Gothic principle. Thus, as he sees himself and his work, he stands in continuity with the 'saints' of the great architectural tradition. to maintain faithfulness with that tradition is necessary to change the style—to be modern and not antique, to be forward looking and not nostalgic.

I suggest that a revival, not of the Gothic style but of the Gothic spirit, is needed in the Art and Architecture of the modern life of the world... Reviving the Gothic spirit would necessarily not mean using the forms of Gothic architecture as handed down to us from 'Les Moyen Age.' It necessarily would mean something quite different... The Spirit that fixed those forms will be the Spirit that will fix the new forms.⁹

And so, as with other conceptual frameworks, continuity and identity are conceived in dynamic terms. Without change there can be no life, and the continuity of identity is maintained by keeping faith with the purposes and intentions of the Fathers. The continuity of identity is through the *Spirit*.

What does all this have to do with "The Future of Mission as Ecumenical Activity?" Mission, as I have said, is talking about the Church in verbs rather than nouns. It is the life of the Church extended outward and projected forward. Mission requires change, it demands movement, it brings novelty. Every new addition to the corporate identity means an enlargement and change of that past and present 'given identity.' Church history brings ample evidence of the recurrent strains this places on the identity and continuity of the Church's life, beginning with the strain placed on the original identity by the inclusion of 'Greeks' into the apostolic fellowship as recorded in Acts, that is, the agenda of the Jerusalem Synod was an attempt to come to terms with missionary

9 F. L. Wright, *Writings and Buildings*, eds. E. Kaufmann, and B. Raeburn (New York, 1960), p. 91.

'novelties' while maintaining continuity with the tradition. One could almost write the whole of church history around this theme and, indeed, of our modern ecumenical movement itself.

The Church must be rooted in one place, in many places; it must stand still to "know that I am God." But it must also be on the move because like her Lord, the Church is apostolic, is 'sent.' The Church is a community of the fixed temple, but also a community on the march, on the road, a pilgrim people, a group of wanderers—a painful necessity for survival.

One main factor in the upward trend of animal life has been the power of wandering. Perhaps that is why armour-plated monsters fared badly. They could not wander. Animals wander into new conditions. They have to adapt themselves or die... Modern life has imposed on humanity the necessity for wandering. Its progressive thought and its progressive technology make the transition through time, from generation to generation, a true migration into uncharted seas of adventure."¹⁰

Here again, the realization of identity is dialectical—it is related to the past, but it is also related to the future. "We have not yet seen what we will become—we see through a glass darkly."¹¹

To me, Orthodoxy with its dynamic, theological, conceptual concepts rising out of pneumatology should feel comfortable with those new conceptual frameworks I have been considering. Take, for example, the concept of Orthodoxy as true worship. That, to us, is a much more open-ended, flexible, and dynamic ecclesiological principle of identity and continuity than the institutional and even political ecclesiological categories of the Western tradition. It is seeing the Church and talking about the Church, the world, and God in verbs rather than nouns.

It is interesting that the dominant operative symbol of the modern cybernetic movement often identified with Norbert Wiener of MIT is the flame.

One thing, at any rate, is clear. The physical identity of an individual does not consist in the matter of which it is made ('tagging' of the elements shows a high turnover of the body as a whole and its member parts). The biological continuity of an organism seems to lie in a certain continuity of process and in the memory of the organism of the effects of its past development... To recapitulate, the individuality of the body is that of a flame rather than that of a stone.¹²

10 A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York, n.d.), pp.207-208.

11 Keith R. Bridston, ed., *Orthodoxy* (Geneva, 1960).

12 Norbert Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings* (Boston and New York, 1967).

It represents the essential congruity between change and continuity. It reflects an understanding of identity in energetic rather than in static terms; it stresses function rather than form. The classical symbol of the divine flame, the Holy Spirit, coinciding with contemporary cybernetic thinking, may be an exciting focus for our reflection as we think about the "Future of Mission as Ecumenical Activity." We may have other sources of our identity, but certainly one is the Acts of the Apostles. And as we continue to 'act,' to be in mission, we are being faithful to the tradition, in continuity with the past, and responsive to the future.

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PHILIP POTTER

THE FUTURE OF THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT

It is a joy and privilege to be the opening speaker at this symposium in honor of the twenty years of the primacy of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos. This year will be twenty-five years since I have known the Archbishop. He came to Geneva in 1955 as the first representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate when I was secretary in the Youth Department of the World Council of Churches. We soon took to each other and a warm relationship grew between us. He was always a welcome guest at our home and was quite a wizard at playing Scrabble when this was still a new game of words. He had mastered the English of Boston to give us a difficult time! But what drew us together was his deep commitment to the ecumenical movement. He came to Geneva with the knowledge of the initiative which had been taken in 1920 by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in proposing a League (*koinonia*) of Churches as a counterpart to the efforts to establish a League of Nations. He saw his task as interpreting the work of the Council to the Orthodox Churches and the life and problems of the Orthodox Churches in the Mediterranean to the Council. He soon extended the scope of his activities through visits to the Orthodox Churches in Eastern Europe, and helped to prepare the way for their becoming members of the Council in the early 1960s. When he left Geneva in 1959 to become archbishop here in the Americas, he continued the same active role of advocacy. He was soon elected president of the World Council, and during the years of his presidency he used his influence very effectively in promoting the ecumenical cause and in interpreting the work of the Council.

It is, therefore, not surprising that he has encouraged the idea of this symposium on the future of the ecumenical movement. Indeed, he has expressed the ardent desire to devote his energies in the coming years to ecumenical work as vital for the unity of the church and for its witness in a deeply divided and broken world. I welcome this challenge because my own involvement in the ecumenical movement over the past thirty-five years has been, like Archbishop Iakovos, personal, pastoral, and ministerial. My own ministry has been closely linked with the World Council of Churches from its inception in 1948 when I was the spokesman for the youth. I can, therefore, only approach this urgent theme of the future of the ecumenical movement from the perspective of lived experience in this movement. Others will be speaking on visions of the future and on various aspects of the life of the ecumenical movement.

I would like to introduce and situate their reflections by sharing with you my own perception of how the ecumenical movement has moved since 1948, and to plead for what I would like to call an ecumenical style of life as the indispensable means for working to achieve the goals of the movement.

The modern ecumenical movement of this century was motivated by the prayer of our Lord that we all may be one, even as He and the Father shared a co-inherent life, so we may share this life with Him and the Father and with each other that the world may believe. The basis and goal of the movement was no less than the revealed life of the Trinity. The ecumenical movement has been from the start no man-made association of like-minded people, but a response to God's revelation of himself in Christ through the Holy Spirit. It is significant that one of the driving forces in the movement in the early days was fellowship in prayer, which was later epitomized in the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity. The movement was also anchored in revelation through the Word of God in the Scripture, and the witness to this revelation of the Godhead in the tradition of the church. However differently all this has been appropriated and expressed during the years, there can be no doubt that the ecumenical movement has been understood and lived out of the life and calling of the Blessed Trinity.

And yet all this was grasped, not as a formal fact, but out of obedience to the challenge and call of God in historical situations. The World Missionary Conference of 1910 took place out of the reality of the missionary movement of the Western churches to the countries where their faiths reigned. But it took place at a time of the colonial and imperialist expansion of the West. The divisive and competing ways in which the Gospel was being proclaimed were a scandal which obscured the real scandal of the Gospel. It was this missionary movement which enforced the centuries-old divisions of the churches and pushed them back to the source of their life in the Trinity. Again, during and after World War I, it was the terrible way in which Christians slaughtered each other in the name of their national allegiances and ideologies which forced churches to face their credibility as instruments of God's reconciliatory work in Christ. The Life and Work and Faith and Order Movements were the fruit of this sharpened awareness.

I mention these well-known facts in order to make an important point in terms of our theme, the future of the ecumenical movement. The movement is based on the revelation of the Trinity, which is, so to speak, its text; and it is animated and driven forward by the storms of the world's history, which is its context. It is essential to remember this, because the criticisms of the present state of the ecumenical movement are often made by people who judge the movement out of a particular period or influence and not out of the dynamic realities of God's *energeia*, His operation and action, in the ongoing movement of history.

It is with this caution in mind that I wish to draw your attention quickly to the extraordinary story of the ecumenical movement during the last thirty years since the formation of the World Council of Churches. In the course of this period all the main streams of the Christian community have been drawn into the ecumenical movement. In 1948 the Council was a world council only in name. Most of the Orthodox Churches did not, or could not, respond to the invitation to become member churches. Most of the churches, in what is now called the Third World, were still under the tutelage of the Western churches. The Roman Catholic Church remained aloof. Today the World Council has in its fellowship the Orthodox, Anglican, Protestant, and Pentecostal traditions. And since Vatican II, the Roman Catholic Church has become a living part of the ecumenical movement. Since 1965 there has been a Joint Working Group which has provided a means by which the churches can collaborate in a wide variety of ways and wrestle with the issues which divide us and prevent our full communion in faith, worship, and life. Moreover, the churches have been in conversation with each other and have joined locally, nationally, regionally, and internationally in various ways by which they can learn from each other and witness together. This is no mean achievement in so short a time, given the many centuries of hostility, mistrust and fear of one another. I sometimes wonder why we take all this for granted and find it difficult to rejoice that God has drawn His people together in this miraculous way, and has used such instruments like the World Council of Churches to bring it about.

During these thirty years or so there have been great advances in our thinking and action on the four major emphases of the ecumenical movement—unity, mission, renewal, and service. The driving force of the ecumenical movement has, undoubtedly, been the call to unity in faith and in order. We have moved from getting acquainted with each other in church traditions, towards rethinking the issues which divide us in fresh terms. We have been seeking to articulate the goal of the unity we seek. We were even able to do so in the functions of the World Council at the Fifth Assembly: "To call the churches to the goal of visible unity in one faith and in one eucharistic fellowship expressed in worship and in common life in Christ, and to advance towards that unity in order that the world may believe." That same Assembly also commended another expression of the unity we seek—conciliar fellowship. Among the many descriptions of this concept is the following: "The one Church is to be envisioned as a conciliar fellowship of local churches which are themselves truly united. In this conciliar fellowship, each local church possesses, in communion with the others, the fullness of catholicity, witnesses to the same apostolic faith and, therefore, recognizes the others as belonging to the same Church of Christ and guided by the same Spirit." To this has been added a concern which has from the beginning been realized, that is, that the unity of the church is directly related to God's purpose to

unite all people and all things in Christ. The unity of the church is the sign and sacrament of the unity of humankind. This means that all those things which divide human beings need to be redeemed and that this redeemed life needs to be manifest in the body of Christ as the 'new humanity.' So the issues of race and sex discrimination, of economic, social and political injustice, and of deprivation of any kind like the handicapped, are the inescapable context within which we must seek our unity in the Divine Triunity.

Perhaps the most significant achievement of the search for unity is the attempt to reach a consensus on baptism, the Eucharist and the ministry, an effort in which the Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Protestants have been engaged. It is hoped that by the next assembly of the World Council in 1983, the statements will be presented for transmission to the churches. The issue for the future will be how the churches will receive and act on such consensus statements from their varied traditions.

Much else has been happening during these years. In several countries churches have been uniting, and all the main communions are in conversation with each other on organic union. Common translations of the Bible are being undertaken, and in the case of the French "Traduction Oecumenique de la Bible," agreed exegetical notes have been provided — truly an astonishing breakthrough. Common Bible study is being undertaken in many places, as well as joint theological education.

Mission and evangelism have been a central concern of the ecumenical movement from the beginning. During these thirty years the issues of proselytism have been tackled and statements and agreements have been made. Indeed, the churches have gone beyond condemning proselytism to discussing and, in many places, carrying out joint action for mission. They are seeking to discover together what God is calling them to do in a particular place, to measure the resources they have for meeting the tasks, and prayerfully to find ways of acting together or for each other. This is seen in such activities as urban and industrial mission, ministerial formation, education, medical and social work, lay training, etc. All these activities have multiplied during these years. Mission and evangelism have also been seen as the essential task of each congregation. A study on the missionary structure of the congregation went far to raise the consciences of the churches on this issue. The great themes of the Church's mission like salvation, the kingdom of God and our common hope, have been and are being affirmed and communicated in different cultures and situations. Dialogue with people of living faiths and ideologies is being conducted in an attitude of mutual respect and openness. This has transformed in many places the relations of Christians with people of other faiths, and has moreover been a source of rediscovery by Christians of some of the hidden riches of their own faith. We are only at the beginning of this process of learning to witness

together our faith in the Triune God, and only recently have contacts been established with groups which are called conservative evangelical. In a world in which people are hungry for a sense of meaning and in which there are religious awakenings, the churches are called in the coming years to find new and urgent ways to proclaim by word and deed the varied riches of the faith as grasped in different cultures and to be open to the working of the Holy Spirit to the truth of the Gospel for the life of the world.

The renewal of the churches for unity and mission has also become an accepted fact among us. In the earlier period we spoke a great deal about the need to mobilize the laity in the life and witness of the church in the world—men and women, old and young, as the priesthood of all believers manifesting the divine life at home, at school, at work and in all our relationships. Considerable changes have been taking place in regard to the role of the laity in the worship and life of the churches. Furthermore, we have been rethinking our educational processes in a way in which those who are being taught are being treated as participants in the process of learning and, therefore, have something to offer, even if it is new ways of asking questions.

Service to the world has always been seen as an obligation of the churches, and they have thought it to be an easy and necessary way of being together. Certainly, since World War II the churches have been mobilizing massive aid to people in need, whatever their nation, creed or race. They have been helping refugees and have been attentive to the needs of the poor and the oppressed. They have, on the basis of the Gospel, been the voice for those who had no voice and have proclaimed the convictions on which a just and peaceful society can be built and maintained. However, during these years the churches have been forced beyond making general statements and giving assistance to people in need, to getting to the causes of war, poverty and the various conflicts which grip our world. On the issues of racism, sexism, violations of human rights, both political and economic, personal and social, the arms race and disarmament, ideologies and political options for a more just society, the churches have found themselves divided; and these divisions run right across our various ecclesiological traditions. The ecumenical fellowship has been profoundly strained by these clashing views and actions in this one world. And yet, there has been one great gain; the churches can no longer be described as ghettos or as being identified with the *status quo*, or on the side of the oppressors. There has been a distinct disengagement, or the beginnings of one, with the secular powers. This, too, is a challenge which the churches will have to face together in the future, because the powers, in the name of national security, cannot tolerate the questioning of their policies and actions. The issues of religious liberty are taking on new and more ominous forms in today's world. This will be a vital concern of the ecumenical movement

in the coming years. Certainly, through the ecumenical movement, the churches and Christians have been enabled to be more relevantly engaged in the world for the sake of the Gospel, even though this engagement has brought about stresses and strains within the churches and with the World Council of Churches.

Not least important in this period has been the way in which the churches and Christians have been thinking afresh about science and technology and the transformation of our world which is being achieved by them. Science and technology have quite changed the relations of people and nature, and of nations with each other. Given the earlier hostility of the churches to science, we have made great strides in our reflections during these thirty years; and as was manifest at the recent world conference on "Faith, Science and the Future," scientists and technologists are now raising with Christians profound questions about creation and about human responsibility in the use of nature and of the resources of the earth. Here again, events have pushed the churches to recover a theology of creation which grows out of our faith in the Triune God who is Creator, Redeemer, Sustainer and Perfector. There will certainly be a great deal to think and do together in the coming years on this vital issue in a world which is riddled with the threats to survival and yet has the possibilities of creating a more just and sustainable society.

In all this the Orthodox Churches have made a distinctive contribution to the ecumenical movement. Because the Orthodox have constantly affirmed that they represented the one unbroken church of the Triune God, they have most sharply kept before the other churches the primacy and the urgency of the issues of unity. They have, indeed, been an irritant, and a necessary one, for the other churches. Therefore, the many advances on questions of faith and order owe a great deal to the theological contribution of Orthodox scholars. The richness of the liturgy and of the spirituality of Orthodoxy has also been shared with other churches. I have noticed that in the last twenty years or so many churches are going through liturgical reform; they are making the Eucharist much more central in their life and are incorporating elements of the Orthodox liturgy in their orders of service.

Orthodoxy has also enriched the theological range of thought within the ecumenical movement. The churches of the Reformation have been reminded of the trinitarian basis of our faith. This was recognized when the basis of the World Council of Churches was changed to include our common calling "to the glory of God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit." But, it is much more than a doxology, for we have been enabled to discern afresh the richness of the divine revelation and the economy of God that we reproduce that richness in the relations between human beings and creation. I recently reminded the Central Committee of the World Council about this contribution, especially as expressed in the phrase *perichoresis*, co-inherence. "The persons of the Trinity contain

(*chorein*) each other. They are inseparably related, and permeate and interpenetrate each other. God himself, as the all-pervasive Spirit, is present in all His creation and contains the universe in His love. Through His Son He has taken up and borne the burdens of humanity and creation so that they may become what they were intended to be through the recreating work of the Holy Spirit... Our co-inherence with the Trinity now calls us to live by and for each other in the body of Christ, and to join Him in fulfilling God's purpose of summing up and fulfilling all humanity and all creation with the fullness of God (Col 1.15-20; Eph 10.22-23)." Moreover, the patristic concept of *theosis*, as the goal of the revelation of the Trinity that humanity and creation be filled with the divine life, has given us all rich clues for dealing with some of the burning issues of today.

We are only starting to explore these and other contributions of the Orthodox. The future of the ecumenical movement will depend on the exploration of these insights. It is also my hope that the Orthodox will, in the coming years, explore the theological and spiritual riches of the other churches in the fellowship of the World Council.

All that I have said is familiar to you, all too familiar. Any sober assessment of these thirty years of thinking and living together in the ecumenical movement would be bound to admit that the problem for all of us is that the ecumenical movement has not just moved, but it has galloped. I have said elsewhere that the insights we have gained during these crowded and eventful years have been too many and too fast for our churches to digest and make their own. They have not become an integral part of the life and thinking of the churches and, therefore, of their participation in the ecumenical movement. It seems to me that that is the crisis of the ecumenical movement and of the frustration of so many who, at some point in their lives, have been actively engaged in the movement. Of course, we could say that this is too pessimistic a picture of the situation. I agree with this judgment from what I have seen as I have moved around the world and seen the miracles of grace which God is performing through the churches discovering each other and witnessing together. But the fact still remains that our churches have not come to terms with all that we have been learning in the ecumenical movement. If there is to be a future for the ecumenical movement, we shall have to face this issue head on.

There is a sense in which the problem of the ecumenical movement today is a communication problem. It concerns the ways in which the whole people of God participate in the ecumenical movement through listening to one another, sharing each other's insights and experiences, and entering into ever widening and deeper relationships for the sake of living and witnessing to the Gospel in today's world. This calls for, what I would describe as, an ecumenical life-style.

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**The
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Theological
Review**



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should be willing to accept nothing less... There is always a need to distinguish and to preserve Tradition from traditions.

So it is, with the exception of the study by Henry Chadwick on "Pachomios and the Idea of Sanctity," most of the other articles in this collection do not directly "feed the soul" in typical hagiographical style. Even Chadwick's excellent study is not "Saint's Life," but a thorough discussion of some themes in the study of the history of early monasticism, including the rise and sociological significance of monasticism itself—i.e. "Pachomios' Wall" in Chadwick's felicitous phrase. He treats the literary history of the lives of Pachomios, the question of Pachomios' orthodoxy, the monastic rule of Pachomios, the history of development of the saint's monastic community and his successors, as well as an assessment of the man and his views—all of which creates a generally favorable impression—something not foreign to the goal and purpose of hagiographical accounts.

The last of these studies is entitled, "The *Panegyris* of the Byzantine Saint: A Study in the Nature of a Medieval Institution, Its Origins and Fate" which is a treatment of the *panegyris* from a primarily economic perspective, and for this reader at least, not the most useful contribution in the book.

Between these two, the papers are quite varied from every perspective. All of the papers are subsumed under four major headings: 'Origins' (two studies), 'The Saint and Society' (6 studies), 'The Life as Genre' (five studies), and 'The Saint in Cult and Art' (six studies). A few of the studies are reported in the form of brief summaries. The range of topics is impressive. Note some of the titles: "Hellenistic and Oriental Origins," "The Political Saint of the Eleventh Century," "The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century," "The Holy Fool," "The 'Low Level' Saint's Life in the Early Byzantine World," "Self-Canonization: The 'Partial Account' of Nikephoros Blemmydes," "The Traffic in Relics," "The Role of the Byzantine Saint in the Development of the Icon Cult." In all, this book contains a fascinating parade of perspectives which provides the believer and the Church with a view of sanctity from a social science perspective.

Consequently, this book is not recommended to the average layman for spiritual edification. It is, however, more than just an exercise in sociology and history. Every priest, theologian and hierarch will find in it many valuable and sobering insights which can contribute to a clearer discernment of the saintly influence in society. It is certainly worth reading for the reflection it provokes.

A final word on the physical aspects of the book. In appearance, it seems to have been designed to fit into the regular format of the fine journal, *Sobernost*. This, however, may be a disadvantage in attracting attention to it on bookstore shelves. At least one of the sixteen black and white illustrations and two end pieces might have graced the cover. The book is well printed on good quality paper, and is a thorough pleasure

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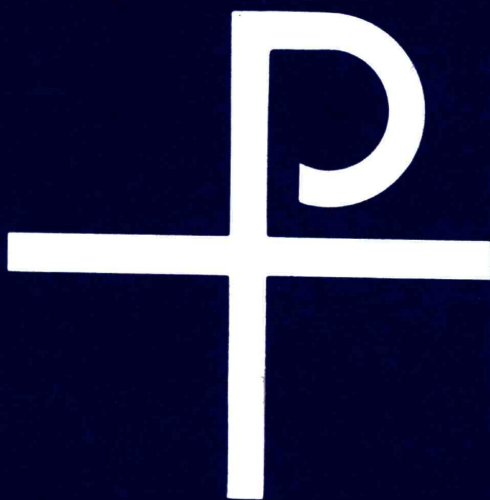
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**The
Greek
Orthodox
Theological
Review**



Volume XXVI
Number 1 & 2
Spring - Summer 1981

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BOOK NOTES

The Russians and the World Council of Churches. By J. A. Hebly. Belfast-Dublin-Ottawa: Christian Journals Limited, 1978. Pp. 181. Paperbound

This study consists of two main sections: (1) An Analysis and Description of the Development of the Relationship between the Russian Orthodox Church and the World Council of Churches (pp. 11-125), and (2) A Critical Appraisal of the Situation of the Church in the Soviet Union and the Problems Involved in Its Participation in the World Council of Churches (pp. 127-73).

The author describes his study as a "Documentary survey of the accession of the Russian Orthodox Church to the World Council of Churches with commentary." But due to some restrictions, both on the part of the World Council of Churches and the Russian Orthodox Church, he was not able to use all the relevant documents or sources needed. Consequently, he was forced to rely mainly on available sources, published material, and personal encounters.

In reading his book, we have to continuously keep in mind existing Church-State relations in Soviet Russia, and the role the State plays in the life of institutions and persons.

It is in this light that the position of the Orthodox Church of Russia within the World Council of Churches is studied and analyzed.

Vasil T. Istavridis

The Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical Movement, Documents and Statements 1902-1975. Ed. Constantine G. Patelos. Geneva: The World Council of Churches, 1978. Pp. 360. Paperbound

Although this volume tries to give a response to the questions: "What has the Orthodox Church contributed towards the World Council of Churches?," "What is the position of the Orthodox Church in the World Council of Churches?," and "How does the Orthodox Church view its own role within the World Council of Churches?," it is not a history of the Orthodox contribution to the ecumenical movement.

The volume includes messages by Patriarch Demetrios of Constantinople, Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Myra, and Philip Potter. In addition, there are chapters devoted to: The encyclicals of the Ecumenical Patriarchate on the ecumenical movement, Pan-Orthodox conferences, Orthodox statements on ecumenical conferences, and a selection of personal views by Orthodox theologians on the ecumenical movement.

This volume is extremely important because it brings together a great many important documents.

Vasil T. Istavridis

Orthodox Theological Education for the Life and Witness of the Church, Report on the Consultation at Basel, Switzerland, July 4-8, 1978. Program on Theological Education. Geneva: The World Council of Churches, 1978. Pp. 117. Paperbound

Recently, the different committees of the World Council of Churches, working in contact with the appropriate Orthodox authorities, call Orthodox consultations on the various themes under discussion within the Council. Moving in this direction, the Program on Theological Education, Unit on Faith and Witness, called a consultation on Orthodox Theological Education which published the present volume.

A document of substantial value for Orthodox Theology, the work is divided into three parts: (1) The Status of Theological Education in Orthodoxy Today; (2) The Place and Function of Theological Education in the Church; and (3) Aspects of Theological Education.

Among the recommendations made, one calls for "the establishment of an Orthodox Theological Commission" on permanent basis and of international character." In addition, the following papers are presented: (1) Jan Anchimiuk (Poland), "Ministry of the Eucharistic Liturgy and the Ministry of the 'Liturgy after the Liturgy' "; (2) Stanley S. Harakas (Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology), "Extending the Benefit of Theological Education Beyond the Ordained Ministry to the People of God—An Aspect of Theological Education"; (3) John D. Zizioulas (University of Glasgow), "The Ecumenical Dimension of Orthodox Theological Education"; and (4) N. A. Nissiotis (University of Athens) "Orthodox and Ecumenical Theological Education."

Reports from the various Orthodox Theological Schools are also included. The latter are helpful because they offer a useful compendium of the various Orthodox and Ancient Oriental Theological Schools found all over the world. Unfortunately, there are no reports from the theological schools of Halki (Istanbul, Turkey), Saint John of Damascus (Balamand, Lebanon), Bulgaria, Poland, and from the Coptic and Ethiopian Churches.

Vasil T. Istavridis

Cent Cinquante Ans de Présence Évangélique au Proche-Orient (1808-1958). Foi et Vie, No. 2. By Jean-Michel Hornus. Paris, 1979. Pp. 108. Paperbound

The French Reformed pastor Jean-Michel Hornus, who has spent

almost twenty years in the Near East serving in different capacities, is an authority on the history and the present realities of Christianity in that geographic region. His books and articles have a scholarly flavor, are objective, and well-balanced in their content and findings.

The present work is divided into two main parts: (1) *Historique de l'Implantation Protestante*, pp. 15-56, and (2) *Les Grands Problemes*, pp. 57-102. This is an overall study of the Evangelical churches of the Near East, from their origin (1808) to 1958. Geographically, the book covers present day Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, the Arab Peninsula, and Palestine, both Arab and Jewish. The island of Malta, the starting point for Protestant missions to the Near East in the nineteenth century, is also included.

According to the author, the main factors for the beginning of the missionary effort by the West were a strong desire for the conversion of the Jews and pagans to Christianity, the missionary nature of the Protestant churches, and the concept of unity inherent in Protestantism. Although the Jews and other non-Christians constituted the initial objective for Protestant missionaries, combined with the desire to assist Christians living in the same area, proselytism of other Christians to the new Evangelical communities became, in the course of time, the standard policy. This was similar to the tactics employed for several centuries by the Latins in the East. This type of action was a real shock for the Christians and the churches which existed there for centuries. Today, however, due to the ecumenical movement of the twentieth century, a real change has come about in the relations between the different churches and communities living in the Near and the Middle East.

Vasil T. Istavridis

Bibliographie de l'Église Latine de Chio, Tire a part de Balkanike Bibliographia 5 (1976). Supplement pp. 1-196. By Nikolaos S. Kroussouloudes. Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1979. Pp. 196. Paperbound

According to the author, an organized Christian community existed in Chios from about A.D. 250. The church of Chios was initially under the metropolis of Rhodes, which belonged to the Church of Rome until the year A.D. 733 when it passed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Chios became an archbishopric between the years 1282-1328, and a metropolis about 1339. The origins of the Latin Church in Chios, however, can only be dated from the period of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204).

In its present form (the work initially appeared in 1970 as a thesis, presented to the Scuola Vaticana di Biblioteconomia) the book reviews

399 studies recorded chronologically from 1517-1977.

Vasil T. Istavridis
Halke, Turkey

Niederaltaich Consultation on Theological Anthropology: Toward a Theology of Human Wholeness, 1-6 September 1980.

Women and men, representing a rich diversity of culture, confession, and person, came together at Niederaltaich, September 1 through 6, 1980, to participate in a "Consultation on Theological Anthropology." The consultation was subtitled, "Toward a Theology of Human Wholeness (Female/Male)." Background materials, sensitively collected from the broad base of Christian thought and life, provided a rich context of ideas and issues for the six day meeting.

Imago Dei

The concept of the human creation, male and female, made in the image and likeness of the Creator, was central to the work of the consultation. Contributions—in perspective, approach and theme—all seemed to be oriented around the concept of the Imago Dei. The presentation by a gynecologist offered an opportunity to see the necessity for the enlightened management of human sexuality, if the image of the living God, whose being includes spirit, truth and love, is to be affirmed in the lives—the incarnate lives—of contemporary women and men, young and old.

A scholar presented historical background which shows clearly a theology, a "speaking-about-God," that has done violence to our heritage, the promise of the Imago Dei in the human creation. Her presentation, entitled "The History of Androcentricism in the Imago Dei," retraced the steps that have allowed the reality of the human creation to be seen simultaneously in two ways. In one of these views, human being is in two forms, complementary but diverse, that is, male and female in the Image of God. In the other view, the "androcentricism" referred to in the title of the talk, the two forms of human being do not have parity, since the male form is in the image of God, while the female form is, not only different from the male, but somehow not fully in the image of God.

Through a poet's address the stark light of pure reason could be softened, thereby making possible a more dynamic perspective on our subject, theological anthropology, a perspective more suitable to speaking about a God who can be experienced only in negation of thought.

A dedicated worker for liberation among the oppressed opened eyes to

the vision of the power of the affirmation of the Imago Dei in those lives where the Image has been truncated, stultified by human fallenness.

A monk brought into the consultation the way of "speaking-about-God" that calls forth the Imago Dei in each person, the fullness intended in the work of the sixth day, now possible through the Christ, the second person of the Trinity.

The participants in the consultation found themselves standing in awe of the mystery of the Imago Dei, the Image of God present in each human individual. We felt the power in knowing, the redemptive power in knowing that the Image of God is inherent, indelibly present, in all human lives.

The reality of human personhood, manifested in the interaction of the consultation's participants as they addressed the concept of the Creator of all, and His dimorphic human creation, was perhaps the most potent dimension of the consultation.

"Such a Long Process to Become the Image of God"

There is profound inspiration in affirming that every person contains within her or his being the image of God. The affirmation is that the very image of God is somehow, mysteriously present in the human make-up, as much so as human chromosomes are present, somehow, mysteriously, without need of explanation, only affirmation.

For the tough-minded in the group, for those who deal daily with the saddest realities of a fallen humanity, standing in awe of the great mystery of the image of God in the human creation was quickly followed by the realization of another mystery. The work is not finished. The human creation is not finished. Living as the creation of, in the image of, God, involves the process of becoming like God. One of the mystics at the table at Niederaltaich wrote:

The Christian vision of the Imago Dei is an invitation and powerful appeal to work for what we are not yet, to grow to a fuller, more authentic personal and communal life so as to make this divine image more transparent. We as individuals cannot become the Imago Dei without at the same time helping others to become truer to this image. Thus this image implies a dynamic vision to transform ourselves and to create new dimensions of female and male experience within our community.

In a six day meeting, in the abundance of the season of harvest, in the early fall countryside of Bavaria, the image of God reflected was through the being of persons of diverse culture, confession and life (so many talents, so much accomplished, so much dreamed and feared and overcome). This occasion made the participants remember the promise, the wonderful promise that the human creation, male and female, is made in the image and likeness of the Creator, and the Creator, through

the synergy of the creation, took on a human form so that individual human beings can become like unto God. The promise is the grace for the accomplishment of the promise.

At a time when the human creation has indeed been fruitful and multiplied and now fills the earth with human diversity that is both marvelous and terrible, can this vast humanity, unified by the image of God inherent in each individual open itself to the opportunity of the promise to become like unto the Creator? Surely, to renew the vision is preliminary to claiming the promise.

Vasiliki Eckley
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EDITOR'S NOTE

The Greek Orthodox Theological Review is proud to participate in the tribute paid to His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos by Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology on the occasion of his twentieth anniversary of service to the Orthodox Church as Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America by publishing the papers of the symposium, "The Future of the Ecumenical Movement" held in his honor.

The symposium, under the sponsorship of the President of Hellenic College and Holy Cross, Dr. Thomas C. Lelon, and the faculties of Hellenic College and Holy Cross, was held on the campus of Hellenic College—Holy Cross on January 9-12, 1980. It brought together a distinguished number of scholars and participants interested in the work of the World Council of Churches who, "in an atmosphere of prayerful hospitality," were able to discuss the "new attitude of relationship between separated Christians which has appeared only recently."

It is our hope that the papers that appear in this number of the *Review* will contribute substantially to the building of these relationships in a more meaningful way.

The editor

thesis of culture, which radiated from it over the Graeco-Roman world, and beyond" (p. v). The author emphasizes that "It is during Justinian's reign that the different elements that formed the civilization of Constantinople—and of the empire—can be most clearly perceived, and it was during this age that the enduring characteristics of Byzantine culture were being shaped" (ibid.).

Certainly, if the general reader were to read a single book on Byzantine civilization only, this would be an excellent choice because it is in the reign of Justinian (A. D. 527-565) that the process begun by Constantine the Great of forming a new state, a new culture, and new society which would replace the Roman Empire, was being completed. As the new center of the new civilization, Constantinople was the center of government, religion, literature, art, and architecture.

The eight concise chapters of this compact book deal with: (I) The City of Justinian and Its People; (II) The Emperor: *The Emperor's Agents*; (III) The Roman Tradition: *Law*; (IV) The Roman World: *Reconquest*; (V) The Emperor as Builder: *St. Sophia*; (VI) Empire and Body of Christ: The Divine Liturgy; (VII) Orthodoxy and the Unity of the State; and (VIII) "Athens and Jerusalem." In addition to a preface, there is a prologue called "The City Is Founded" and an epilogue entitled "The God-Guarded City." A map of Constantinople, a plan of Saint Sophia, a selected bibliography, and an index add to the usefulness of the volume.

The beauty of this little book is that it gets at the very essence of Byzantine culture in general and the meaning of Constantinople in particular. In speaking of the Divine Liturgy, for instance, Professor Downey makes the following very perceptive statement:

And so the liturgy was in reality one of the most powerful forces in the empire of which Constantinople, with its Church of Saint Sophia, was the head. The emperor, when he attended a celebration of the liturgy, was a very meaningful figure. He came as an individual Christian, as head of the state, and as vicegerent of God on earth and secular head of the Church—and here Justinian took his duties very seriously. When a service such as the Divine Liturgy could be attended by an emperor who was present in such a capacity, people, Church, and state were united in a unique strength—a strength that had its roots in the past, linking the past with the present and preparing the way for the future, all in an unbroken tradition. The Church's liturgy was, like the imperial office, a perpetual institution (p. 134).

Downey rightly sees the capital city of Constantinople as the one to which people looked for spiritual leadership—to Saint Sophia, "The Great Church," as representative of Orthodox churches everywhere, and to the emperor, as duty-bound to lead his people to salvation and preserve them from heresy and error. Downey is also quite explicit in pointing out that

in Justinian's day the Greek-speaking citizens were very conscious of their descent from the Greeks of antiquity and saw no basic discontinuity between themselves and the ancients: "Christianity had been added and now took first place, but the classical heritage continued. Indeed, to destroy or abandon it would have been to do away with one of the essential roots of civilization" (p. 164). The sense of continuity was felt in the religious, political, and intellectual spheres of Byzantine life. Church, emperor, and people lived in harmonious association; and Byzantine civilization had the remarkable ability to assimilate and absorb all kinds of people into the Byzantine tradition. A bond was seen to exist between this world's members and those in the next world. The unity of faith and culture presupposed a direction to human life and an order to the universe. Constantinople was the capital city of the empire, but also a special city in which the individual could fulfill his special Greco-Roman-Christian cultural function and relate it to the world as a whole.

It is good to have a reprinting of *Constantinople in the Age of Justinian*. It is still as useful and refreshing an appreciation and interpretation as it was when it was originally published two decades ago.

John E. Rexine

Die Beziehungen zwischen Staat und Kirche in Griechenland unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der orthodoxen Kirche: Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Hohen Rechtswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Albert-Ludwigs Universität zu Freiburg. By Philip K. Spyropoulos. [Athens], 1981. Pp. 186. Paper.

Church-state relations in Greece are many-sided and somewhat different than those existing in other countries where one religion is established by law or given special preference. This doctoral dissertation explores the historical and legal connections between the Orthodox Church and the modern Greek state from 1821 to the Church Constitution of 1975. The stages of development from the proclamation of the Autocephaly of 1833, and the Ecumenical Patriarchal Tomos of 1850, down to the Constitution of 1943 are set forth. The complicated period of the war years between 1943 and 1974, both World War II and the Civil War and its aftermath, including the difficult era of the 1960s, and the military regime down to 1974, is treated next. Finally, the current situation (down to 1977) is described.

Along with his historical and legal exposition of state-church relationship, the author devotes about half of his book to the subject of religious freedom in Greece and what this implies in a country which has an established church. The Orthodox Church in Greece enjoys a predominant and preferred position, both legally and actually, and not surpris-

ingly. For centuries under the Turkokrateia the Church and the Greek nation were co-terminous; the vast majority of Greeks have been and are members of the Church, which has always been identified with the welfare and beliefs of the nation. Other religions and other forms of the Christian religion are recognized and tolerated as belonging to non-Hellene residents of Greece, but proselytism is forbidden. Other marriage customs for other people are valid, but not for Greeks; religious edifices other than those of the Orthodox Church may be constructed only with the permission of the authorities. Religious freedom of the American variety, with its ensuing chaos, is not the model for Greece.

The author devotes a considerable amount of attention to the discussion of the various legal aspects of religious freedom; Greece subscribed to the European Declaration of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms in 1950 and gave these legal status, without prejudice to existing Greek laws on the subject of religion and good citizenship. He goes also into the question of the Old Calendarites and ends up with a discussion of the pattern of church-state relationships in Greece, past and present, with a view to the future, where the possibility of the separation of church and state is envisioned. As the result of the Church Constitution of 1975, government interference and control of the Church is lessened, but not done away with. The head of state no longer takes his oath of office in the name of "The Holy, Consubstantial, Life-giving, and Undivided Trinity," but the state still pays a good share of the Church's bills.

This is a valuable book and would be worth translating into a few other languages, including Greek, where most of the material on the subject already reposes; the author's views and the results of his work are worth consideration. This volume is well printed, presumably in Athens, although no place of publication or publisher is stated.

Stephen H. R. Upson
Rochester, New York

Τό ζήτημα τῆς μεταφράσεως τῆς Ἀγίας Γραφῆς εἰς τὴν Νεοελληνικὴν κατὰ τὸν ΙΘ' αἰ. ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει ἰδία: τῶν ἀρχείων τῆς Β.Φ.Β.Σ., C.M.S., L.M.S., τοῦ Κ. Τυπάλδου-Ἰακωβάτου καὶ τοῦ Θ. Φαρμακίδου [The Question of the Translation of the Sacred Scriptures into Modern Greek in the Nineteenth Century, Based Especially on the Archives of the B.F.B.S., C.M.S., L.M.S., K. Typaldos-Iakovatos and Th. Pharmakides]. By Georgios D. Metallenos. Athens, 1977. Pp. 424 + Appendix 1-59. Paper.

Father Metallenos' book is a doctoral dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Theology of the University of Athens. It is one of the outstanding books written recently in the field of church history in Greece.

Dr. Metallenos divides his book into three parts, each in turn made up of three chapters. Part A, "The Pre-History of the Translation of Vamvas," deals with: (1) The Presuppositions of the Greek Scene; (2) Protestant Missionaries in Greece—the Dissemination of the Translation; and (3) The Translation of Hilarion. Part B, "The Translation of Vamvas," takes up: (1) The Persons [Involved in the Translation] and Their Selection; (2) The Method of the Translation—Editions—Revisions; and (3) The Translations Viewed Philologically. Part C, "The Controversy Concerning the Translation" discusses: (1) A General View of the Controversy; (2) The Involvement of Typaldos and Vamvas in the Controversy; and (3) The Controversy According to the Judgment of the English Missionaries.

After a brief section of *epilegomena* in which the author summarizes his research, there are fifty-nine pages of documents (mostly unpublished), beginning with the *apodeixis* of Patriarch Kyrillos VI of Constantinople in which he approves of the circulation among Orthodox Christians of the bilingual—original "Greek and Romaic" (spoken Greek)—edition of the New Testament, published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1814.

According to the author, the nineteenth-century efforts to translate and disseminate the Scriptures in spoken Greek was one of the primary objectives of Protestant missionaries in general, and of the agents of the British and Foreign Bible Society in particular.

In the nineteenth century we had a repetition of the effort made in the seventeenth century, during the tenure of Patriarch Kyrillos (Cyril I Loukaris), by Protestants (Calvinists) who sought: (1) a translation of the Scriptures into the spoken Greek language; (2) a Protestant-oriented school system; and (3) a confession of faith that would demonstrate that Orthodoxy and Calvinism were doctrinally very similar.

The New Testament was translated by Maximos Kallipolites in 1632, and published in Geneva in 1638. Its distribution, however, was severely limited, due to the furor caused by the *Confession* published under the name of Patriarch Kyrillos I, while the suggestion of a Protestant school system was rejected.

In the nineteenth century, the above first two objectives were realized during the first decade of the existence of liberated Greece. Although a confession of faith as such was not sought, the objective of both the translation and the introduction of Protestant texts, including the translated Scriptures, into the school curriculum was to reform the Orthodox Church in Greece along Protestant principles.

Protestant missionaries in Greece (which included Americans as well) worked under the presupposition that the Orthodox Church had fallen to a very low spiritual state in which superstition and ignorance prevailed: Orthodoxy was in dire need of reform and spiritual renewal. Consequently, Protestant missionaries, taking advantage of a poor and dev-

astated land, recently liberated from an alien and oppressive yoke, and finding support among Greek government officials, some clergy, and a few laymen, directed their efforts not toward proselytizing individual Greeks, but to transforming the Greek Orthodox Church into a Protestant one. The principal means for this transformation were to be translated Scriptures, funded and disseminated by missionaries, and the introduction of Protestant principles in the schools.

The movement toward Westernization on which the newly founded Greek state had embarked was to have its parallel in the Greek Orthodox Church.

Despite the 'tentative' consent of Patriarchs Gregory V and Kyrillos VI, during whose tenure Hilarion of Tirnovo was actively engaged in the work of the translation, the circulation of the translated Scriptures without the facing original text, and the refusal by the B.F.B.S. to use the Septuagint text for the translation of the Old Testament, are proofs that the Protestants were using the translated Scriptures as tools for the dissemination of Protestantism.

Neophytos Vamvas' Bible Society-sponsored translation, repeatedly condemned by the Church in Greece, became the symbol of the conflict within Greece in the 1830s between conservatives and liberal Greek elements, who used the occasion of the translated Scriptures to do battle. Consequently, the controversy assumed much broader dimensions and came to involve national, social, political, economic, as well as religious and ecclesiastical issues.

However, despite the tacit support of the Greek government and the expenditures of large sums of money by various missionary societies, the Protestants and their Greek sympathizers failed in their efforts because the translated Scriptures were successfully labeled as one of the means used by Protestant missionaries in their efforts to destroy Orthodoxy.

This, in brief, is a resumé of Mettalenos' book which is based on extensive archival research and a thorough examination of published primary and secondary sources. He is the first scholar to use extensively the archives of Theokletos Pharmakides and K. Typaldos-Iakovatos, whose important role in the translation of the Scriptures Mettalenos reveals for the first time.

Mettalenos' book is a very good piece of scholarship and deserves the highest praise. But despite his truly extensive research in archival material, his sources fail to add substantively to the 'story of the translation' and the controversy it had provoked. What he does present for the first time is the complete story in Greek in a highly commendable fashion.

I believe that one of his important contributions on this subject is his narration and correct appraisal of the motives and plans of the Protestant missionaries and agents of the B.F.B.S. in Greece.

However, like Markos Siotes ("Konstantinos Oikonomou of the House of Oikonomos and the Operations of the British Bible Society in

Greece [1780-1857]," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* [1960], 7-55) before him, Metallenos finds it difficult to accept that three Orthodox patriarchs: Kyrillos I, Kyrillos VI, and Gregorios V, supported the principle of the translation of the Scriptures into modern Greek. Kyrillos I is judged by him to have been remiss in not appreciating the fact that the translated Scripture served the aims of Protestant propaganda, ignoring the patriarchs' rather clear views on the subject which appeared in the preface to the first modern Greek translation of the New Testament in 1638.

Gregorios V, who suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Ottoman Turks in 1821, the author contends, unconvincingly, was under psychological pressure when he accepted and approved the translation. Metallenos, thereby—erroneously, I believe—gives little weight to the patriarchs' over-all views on religious education which included the use of translated Scriptures as well. Moreover, Gregorios V also approved the translation of the Scriptures into Albanian, Bulgarian, and Turkish.

Psychological pressures and other more sinister ones were, in truth, employed upon the hierarchy of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, after the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, to cause them to withdraw approval of the translation.

Metallenos has made much of the contention of the Protestant missionaries that the Orthodox Church in Greece was in great need of 'reform.' But he does not examine whether or not there was any truth in their contention.

Considering that the Scriptures have always served as the basis for all Orthodox theology, and that the works of the Fathers are saturated with biblical quotations, why did many Orthodox who opposed the translation seem willing to concede the Scriptures to the Protestants? Did their translation make them Protestant as opposed to their being Orthodox in their untranslated state?

There is a misplaced English quotation on page 133 and a few other typographical errors in some of the English quotations. Nonetheless, Dr. Metallenos has made a solid and an important contribution to modern Greek historiography on a question that still awaits its final solution.

N. M. Vaporis
Hellenic College

BOOK NOTES

Γεννάδιος Β' Σχολάριος, βίος—συγγράμματα—διδασκαλία. Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων. No. 30. [Gennadios II Scholarios, Life—Writings—Teaching]. By Theodoros N. Zeses. Thessalonike: Patriarchal Institute

of Patristic Studies, 1980. Pp. 555.

Gennadios II Scholarios is the first Ecumenical Patriarch following the fall of Constantinople (1453). He is considered to be the link between the Patristic period of the Church, that is, the period of Byzantine Orthodoxy, the post-Byzantine life and history of the Orthodox Church.

For several decades now a need has been felt for a scholarly study on Gennadios Scholarios. Happily enough, Dr. Theodore N. Zeses, Professor of Patristics, School of Theology, University of Thessalonike, has met this need with the present study. Its contents are as follows: Gennadios in the Sources and Research (pp. 13-59); The Life of Gennadios (pp. 61-239); Works (pp. 241-431); The Teaching of Scholarios (pp. 433-535); and Bibliography (pp. 537-46).

After a thorough examination of the works of Gennadios, the author concludes that Patriarch Gennadios was throughout his life a staunch anti-Unionist. He is of the opinion that the Unionists and their supporters in the West falsified Scholarios' writings in an attempt to present him as a split personality, pro-Unionist in the beginning, and anti-Unionist later in his life. Zeses carefully constructs his picture of Gennadios as an important teacher-theologian and great patriarch supporting his position not only against some Western authors, but also against some Orthodox as well, who found themselves influenced by their Western colleagues.

This is an important book whose views must be seriously studied by all scholars interested in one of the most important patriarchs of the Orthodox Church, the Council of Florence, and Orthodox-Catholic relations.

Vasil Istavridis
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Ἀνθολογία πηγῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας, τόμος δεύτερος. [An Anthology of Sources for Church History. Volume Two]. By Ioannes E. Anastasiou. Thessalonike, 1981. Pp. xiv + 311. Paper.

Volume one of the Anthology, which covered the first to the eleventh century (pp. 622), appeared in 1979. In the ensuing short period of two years, we now have at our disposal volume two of the same publication covering the eleventh to the twentieth century. In this way, Greek Orthodox scholarship has acquired, for the first time in Greek, an important source book.

The author, who is Professor of Church History, School of Theology, University of Thessalonike, follows the same manner of presenting his material as he did in volume one.

A NEW ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

The Greek Orthodox Theological Review extends a very warm welcome to the newest Orthodox journal, *Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία* [Church and Theology: An Ecclesiastical and Theological Review of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain] which first appeared in 1980. *Church and Theology*, an annual review, is edited by Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain, formerly editor of *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* of the Patriarchate of Alexandria and author of many scholarly works. In less than twelve months, two volumes, consisting of 595 and 1152 pages respectively, have appeared.

Church and Theology focuses on ecclesiastical history and archeology, Christian doctrine, Orthodox church history, and inter-church relations. It accepts scholarly papers from both Orthodox and non-Orthodox writers in both Greek and English (one study has appeared in French).

Thus far, the following studies have been published in *Church and Theology*, Volume 1, Pp. 595: "The Meaning of the Terms 'Person,' 'Nature,' 'Essence,' 'Hypostasis,' 'Hypostatic Union,' 'Perichoresis,' 'Kenosis,' and 'Oikonomia,' Together with their Corresponding Latin Definitions in the Ancient Church" by Archbishop Methodios (in Greek, pp. 5-14); "Basil the Great: A Biographical Outline" by Stylianos Papadoupoulos (in Greek, pp. 15-86); "Some Reflections on Philoxenus' Christology" by Constantine Tsirpanles (pp.87-98); "The Holy Metropolis of Carthage: The Parishes, Communities of Prisoners" by Metropolitan Parthenios of Carthage (in Greek, pp. 99-104); "Concerning Clerical and Liturgical Vestments" by Athanasios Papas (in Greek, pp. 105-09); "Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius (c. 480-c. 524)" by Archbishop Methodios (in Greek, pp. 110-112); "The Manchester Faculty of Theology" by F. F. Bruce (pp. 113-17); "On the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Theological Dialogue" by Metropolitan Parthenios of Carthage (in Greek, pp. 118-30); "L. N. Tolstoy's Concept of Immortality" by Louis J. Shein (pp. 131-40); "Orthodoxy and the Diaspora: The Present Situation and the Canonical Position of the Orthodox Diaspora" by Vasileios Th. Stavridis (in Greek, pp. 141-96); "World Alliance of Reformed Churches: Official WARC Delegation to the Ecumenical Patriarchate" by T. F. Torrance (pp. 197-211); "Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589-1639) and Relations between the Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Reformed Churches, Pioneer for Unity" by Colin Davey (pp. 212-86); "Did Q Exist? A Critical Examination of the Arguments against the Q Document Since the Time of Streeter" by Petros Vassiliadis (pp. 287-328); "Official Documents Concerning the Recognition of the Autocephaly of the Orthodox Church in Albania" by Apostolos A. Glavinias (in Greek, pp. 329-67); "The Use of *Oikonomia* and Related Terms in Greek Sources to About A. D. 100" by John Henry

Paul Reumann (pp. 368-430); "St. Gregory of Nyssa's Defense of the Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body" by T. J. Denis (pp. 431-58); "St. Michael's Miracle of Khorae and Its Geographical Setting" by Otto F. A. Meinardus (pp. 459-69); "Documents Referring to the Inauguration of the Theological Dialogue of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches" (in Greek, 470-96); "Constantinople—Rome: Theological Dialogue, an Effective Instrument to Reveal Pure Christian Identity" (pp. 497-502); "Diplomatic Relations [between] Greece and the Vatican" (pp. 503-06); "Theological Discussions [between] Orthodox and Anglicans" by Bishop Timotheos of Miletoupolis (in Greek, pp. 507-12); "Nature and Grace According to St. Athanasius" by George Dragas (pp. 513-54). Pages 555-65 are devoted to book reviews, while pages 566-69 contain obituaries of Father Georges Florovsky and Geoffrey Lampe. The volume ends with a general index by Chrestos Giannoulas (pp. 571-95).

Church and Theology, Volume 2, 1981, Pp. 1152 contains: "History of the Holy Metropolis of Axum from 328 B. C. to the Present: A Contribution to the History of Hellenism in Ethiopia" by Chrestos E. Giannoulas (in Greek, pp. 5-247); "The Holy Metropolis of Imvros and Tenedos throughout the Ages" by Metropolitan Vasileios G. Ateses (in Greek, pp. 429-505); "The Trinitarian and Mystical Theology of Saint Symeon the New Theologian" by Constantine N. Tsirpanles (pp. 507-44); "Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589-1639) and Relations between the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches" by Colin Davey (pp. 545-81); "A Cypriot Icon in Ethiopia" by Richard Pankhurst (pp. 582-85); "The Problem of the Orthodox Diaspora: An Answer to the Most Reverend Archbishop Paulos of Karelia and All-Finland" by Archbishop Methodios (in Greek, pp. 586-90); "The Use of *Oikonomia* and Related Terms in Greek Sources to About A. D. 100" by John Henry Paul Reumann (pp. 591-617); "The Patriarch Nikon: A Study of His Finno-Ugric Origins and How They Related to Russian Church Life. Ecclesiastical and Ethnographical Study of the Renowned Russian Patriarch of the Seventeenth Century" by Charles Graves (pp. 618-60); "The Relationship Between Basil the Great and Athanasios the Great" by Konstantinos V. Kallinikos (in Greek, 661-89); "The Monastic Life as a Sacrament of Love" by Kallistos Ware (pp. 690-700); "The Apophatic Approach to God in the Early Greek Fathers with Special Reference to the Alexandrian Tradition" by Nicholas Gendle (pp. 701-57); "A Lecture by Professor Vasileios Th. Stavrides in the School of Theology of the University of Thessalonike" (in Greek, pp. 758-64); "Contributions to the History of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and the Exarchate of Western Europe" by Andreas Tillyrides (pp. 765-859); "St. Maximos the Confessor and the Christian Life" by George Dragas (pp. 861-84); "Unity-division Syndrome in the New Testament Church and the Growth of Break-away Churches in Igboland, Nigeria" by George E. Okeke (pp.

(pp. 885-911); "The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Unity of Orthodoxy in the Twentieth Century" by Vasileios N. Anagnostopoulos (in Greek, pp. 913-59); "A Theological Introduction to the Letters Between Severus of Antioch and Sergius the Grammarian" by Lain R. Torrance (pp. 961-93); "The Holy Monastery of the Holy Trinity of Chalke" by Apostolos Danielides (in Greek, pp. 995-1023); "Metrophanes Kritopoulos, Kyrilos Loukaris et Geneve (1627-1640)" by Edmond Perret (pp. 1025-54); "The Ecumenical Patriarchate" (Official Correspondence and Addresses between Constantinople and Rome) (in Greek and French, pp. 1055-77); "Addresses on the Occasion of the Nameday of Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon" by Athanasios Papas (in Greek, pp. 1078-83); "Introducing Fr. Paul Florensky (1882-1943)" by E. Newton (pp. 1084-87); Book Reviews in Greek and English take up pp. 1088-1112. There is an obituary of Ioannis N. Theodorakopoulos by Metropolitan Methodios on pp. 1113-14. A General Index on pp. 1115-53 closes this impressive second volume.

All of us at *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* wish *Church and Theology* continued success and Χρόνια Πολλά.

N. M. Vapori

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dios and, with commendable sobriety, dismisses the ridiculous but popular contention that the *History* is not a true, eye-witness account of Egyptian monasticism. More importantly, she points out that the original text is Greek and that the monasticism described in the accounts is essentially Eastern. This is an important assertion because some wholly bogus (though supposedly prestigious) Western collections of the Desert Fathers have attempted to link the lives of these Fathers with Western monastic tradition. In fact, the monasticism of the desert, though it certainly affected the founders of Western monasticism, survives in many Orthodox monasteries in a form not all that different from that described in the *Historia Monachorum*. Such cannot be said of Western monasteries.

One final note should be made as regards the use of the term 'Coptic' to describe the early monastic communities of Egypt. It is a usage which is found in this book and increasingly in almost every reference to the Desert Fathers. The term implies that all of the Desert Fathers were outside of Orthodoxy in adhering to the Monophysite heresy. While this trend existed in Egypt among some monks, certainly the Desert Fathers cannot be considered non-Chalcedonian before Chalcedon had been convened! An Orthodox should no more consider the Desert Fathers of Egypt 'Coptic' than he should imagine the first popes of Rome 'Roman Catholic.' Since the confusing term 'Copt' is seldom used today to describe a linguistic tradition, there is the unavoidable tendency to equate it with Monophysitism, just as 'Roman' today means (unfortunately) something other than 'Greek.' Misuse dictates, for the Orthodox scholar, disuse, as regards these terms.

All in all, this slim volume is a useful and important contribution to the study of the Desert Fathers. It provides not only a reasonable translation of primary literature, but by way of the introduction it adds to our understanding of early Christian monasticism. One might only regret that Orthodox scholars, who have a greater familiarity with the spirit of the desert, have been so remiss in dealing with this important area of study.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos

The Ladder of Monks and Twelve Meditations. By Guigo II. Translated, with an introduction, by Edmund Colledge, O.S.A., and James Walsh, S.J. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1981.

Edmund Colledge and James Walsh have made available to us two Carthusian texts from the second half of the twelfth century. These two short works by the ninth prior of the Grand Chartreuse, Guigo II, are

superbly translated. The style is clear and well reflects the obvious understanding of the translators, that the preservation of the Latin syntax is anything but an aid to the modern reader. We are never at a loss for Guigo's meaning.

Well over half of the book in which these translations appear is comprised of introductory remarks and an historical, critical treatment of the original Latin texts. In these pages Colledge and Walsh leave the reader with no doubts about the care with which they traced the origins of every line and every 'jot and tittle' in the texts. In this they are loyal to the current academic trend. It has become *de rigueur* today that to each translation of spiritual texts there be appended at least equal numbers of pages of critical considerations. We are treated to long discourses, in some texts, on the faults and failures of earlier translators. In other works we find ourselves pouring over long, complicated etymologies related to words in fragmented and otherwise unintelligible phrases. Though Colledge and Walsh have avoided these excessive preoccupations with the text, one wonders if a hefty portion of the introduction might have been deleted with no harm to the reader or the translated text.

As regards the text, the authors attempt to present Guigo's Carthusian instructions and meditations as Western counterparts of the hesychastic tradition in the Orthodox Church. In the writings of this monastic mystic, we are told in the words of Dom Jean Leclercq, we find the hesychastic tradition "adapted to the usage of Western civilization in the twelfth century" (p. 13). In Guigo, the authors maintain, the successful absorption of the hesychastic tradition of the East is accomplished, including such extraneous influences as the 'Dionysian canon,' into the mysticism of the West. Feeding into the 'mighty Mississippi' of Western mystical thought, the hesychastic tributary reaches its final destination and flows into the rushing tide of renewed spiritual thought in twelfth-century Western Europe.

If the present translation stands firmly on its own and if the authors can be forgiven a 'trendy' introductory style, the historical theme of their remarks falls hard on rather unforgiving turf. Guigo's writings may seem, in this day when we look so frantically for all that East and West share (even at the cost of objective and careful observation), hesychastic in tone, if one glances only superficially. But beyond that superficial blink, there is little to be said to support the authors' theme. The most striking indication of this lack of support is the fact that the *authors themselves* dare not make direct comparisons between the hesychastic tradition and the contemplative writings of their Carthusian prior. Thus, not a single reference, in their careful historical analysis, to the foundation text upon which Eastern hesychastic writings are built — not a single reference, despite the embarrassingly obvious parallels, to *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* of the sixth-century Saint John of Mount Sinai (Klimakos)!

If we do, indeed, stand the *Ladder* of Guigo aside that of Saint John, we see all too clearly how far the Eastern and Western contemplative traditions are from one another. Guigo's ladder reaches up to an ecstasy of contemplation where the ascetic ultimately feels himself privileged to say, "Now indeed I experience God's grace, now with Peter and John upon the mountain I gaze upon his glory" (p. 83). One is tempted to imagine that such ecstasy parallels the hesychastic vision of God face to face, or the marvel of the manifestation of the light of Mount Tabor. Yet, the ladder of Saint John reaches up not to the height of ecstasy, but to the lowliness of humility. "Cleansed" by the tears of his struggles (p. 75), the Carthusian ascetic of Abbot Guigo touches God's glory directly. But Saint John warns the would-be mystic that the demon of fornication can produce these same tears, telling him that "mourning produces humility," not proclamations of the vision of the light of glory.

These same contrasts are to be found in the *Meditations*. These discourses are intensely sensuous, not dispassionate. Christ is addressed in a conversational tone: "Lord Jesus, please explain..." (p. 89). The encounter with God in Guigo's *Meditations* comes in the form of a deep personal insight. The monk living in solitude, says the Carthusian sage, comes to see and love himself more and more, "the more he sees and loves God" (p. 91). Saint John of the Ladder, however, characterizes the mystical life in quite a different manner. Nowhere in Saint John (or in traditional Orthodox spirituality) are presumption and familiarity to be found. Christ is addressed only in the plea for His mercy embodied primarily in the Jesus Prayer. The whole of the spiritual life centers on the dispassionate victory of the inner man over the sinful self. Mounting love of oneself is, for Saint John and the Orthodox spiritual tradition, folly. The Orthodox *Ladder* teaches us, rather, that the man who maintains a sincere condemnation of himself makes pride and vainglory as 'weak as cobwebs.'

In the writings of the Carthusian Guigo we find the very lack of caution and sobriety in spiritual pursuit of which Saint John Klimakos so consistently and unceasingly warns us. The *Ladder* and the *Meditations* of Guigo are confident in their ability to give expression to a novel, dynamic experience of God lost to earlier Latin monastics. In this novelty the author encourages individualism and compromises tradition. Guigo strings his tarnished pearls on the thread of discrete moments of sweetness and advance in contemplative ecstasy. This thread, however, is the 'weak cobweb' spun by spiritual pride and vainglory. It is alien to the pure, golden thread of tradition by which the Orthodox ascetic reaches, through sincere self-reproach and realistic self-condemnation, the dispassionate state of oneness with an unbroken mystical practice which is neither novel nor individualistic. And as useful as these two Latin texts might be to the student of Western monastic tradition, they do little to support the contention that East and West are but two hues of the same

color. This reviewer, at least, takes the texts as evidence of the profound differences in theory and practice that separate Orthodox and Latin monasticism.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos

Fullnes of Life, Historical Foundations for a New Asceticism. By Margaret R. Miles. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1981. Pp. 186. Paper.

Modern scholars have taken too literally the advice of many early Christian authors: "Pay no attention to the body." At the same time, many have seldom analyzed the voluminous writings of these same or other authors on embodiment. Consequently, a stereotype belief has been formed that all Christian thinkers have urged a repression of bodily pleasure, energies, and needs.

This misunderstanding is due, to a large measure, to a tendency to ignore the extent to which ideas arise in response to their context. Moreover, these ideas are in a sense 'occasional,' and are not to be taken as absolute. In addition, there is a tendency to assume that authors of other times operated with the same central issues and agendas that we do. Also, historic texts are often unable to reconstruct for us the liveliness of historic people who were truly alive.

Margaret Miles has chosen to give a more accurate exposition of an element of Christian thought that is widespread and has deeply influenced Christian life in the past. She studies carefully the main streams of the thought and aspects of some of the greatest Fathers of the Church. In order to understand things better, she consistently explores the exact meaning of terms and the occasion of their use, especially what each particular Father meant by the term 'body': the organic element of the human being, or simply the flesh. In addition, she examines what was the aim of a Father in a particular occasion: to express philosophical views or to preach temperance.

At first Miles explores the views of the body formulated by Irenaeus and Tertullian (who certainly were widely indebted to Justin, Athanasius, and Theophilus) in response to Gnostic dualism. The main feature of their argument is that the worth of the body is shown in Christ's true incarnation and man's resurrection. In the same connection, the evidence of the ancient martyrological literature is used (Chapter 1).

Miles finds in Clement of Alexandria (Chapter 2) a transition from the martyrdom orientation of the Early Church to daily martyrdom, that is, a life in which every circumstance becomes a spiritual discipline. The double view of Origen on the body, i.e., on the one hand his minimizing of the distance between spirit, soul, and body, and on the other, his

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The Lives of the Desert Fathers. Translated by Norman Russell. With an introduction by Benedicta Ward, SLG. London & Oxford: Mowbray, 1981.

This small book is a translation of the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, an account of fourth-century Egyptian monasticism. Father Russell has provided us with a clear, vivid, and accurate translation from the original Greek text, with appended pages from the Latin text of Rufinus and selections from the Syriac version of the *History*. His style of translation is fresh and true to the Greek original, and he thankfully avoids some of the ugliness that marks so many of the earlier British translations of the Fathers. Thus, we are happy to find *gerontas* properly translated as 'elder,' not 'old man,' and terms common to Eastern monastic tradition correctly rendered, and not according to Latin nomenclature.

No translation is, of course, without its problems. When the text does not suffer (and it does not in Russell's work), the translator often burdens us in other ways. Sometimes we are treated to rather arrogant comments on the text. With some sadness, I have seen more and more translations presented with the following kind of prefatory note: "This being a spiritual text, it behooves us to present it in such a way as to preserve its inner depth—a depth known only to certain spiritually advanced individuals. We might observe, then, the following..." Here, with the necessary 'canned' rejoinders about the spiritual inadequacy of the translator, follow the 'truths' from on high. At the same time, many translators seem obliged to supplement the text with copious notations about the most superficial of matters. Of the first fault, Father Russell is not guilty; of the second, he is rather flatly convicted.

One might wonder whether there is any possible benefit to knowing that the sleeves of the ancient monastic tunic reached the elbows, or the equivalent in Roman measures, bushels, and liters of an ancient Egyptian measure. Extended and sometimes pedantic derivations of various words and phrases seem equally valueless to this reader. These weaknesses become especially annoying when, in fortunately limited instances, Father Russell interprets his texts as lending themselves, by virtue of hyperbolic expressions, to the perpetuation of 'fables' or 'legends.' Such terminology seems inconsistent with his otherwise respectful treatment of the Desert Fathers. It is certainly unwarranted as a comment drawn from observations about style, for hyperbole does not always portray a fable. But such lapses in good sense might well be nothing more than the after-effects of extended study of the growth of beans and lentils in the Nile delta (See n. 6, section XIV).

Several things should be said about Sister Benedicta's introduction to the *History*. Her scholarship is up-to-date and accurate. She rightly points out that the *History* is not part of the *Lausaic History* of Palla-

dios and, with commendable sobriety, dismisses the ridiculous but popular contention that the *History* is not a true, eye-witness account of Egyptian monasticism. More importantly, she points out that the original text is Greek and that the monasticism described in the accounts is essentially Eastern. This is an important assertion because some wholly bogus (though supposedly prestigious) Western collections of the Desert Fathers have attempted to link the lives of these Fathers with Western monastic tradition. In fact, the monasticism of the desert, though it certainly affected the founders of Western monasticism, survives in many Orthodox monasteries in a form not all that different from that described in the *Historia Monachorum*. Such cannot be said of Western monasteries.

One final note should be made as regards the use of the term 'Coptic' to describe the early monastic communities of Egypt. It is a usage which is found in this book and increasingly in almost every reference to the Desert Fathers. The term implies that all of the Desert Fathers were outside of Orthodoxy in adhering to the Monophysite heresy. While this trend existed in Egypt among some monks, certainly the Desert Fathers cannot be considered non-Chalcedonian before Chalcedon had been convened! An Orthodox should no more consider the Desert Fathers of Egypt 'Coptic' than he should imagine the first popes of Rome 'Roman Catholic.' Since the confusing term 'Copt' is seldom used today to describe a linguistic tradition, there is the unavoidable tendency to equate it with Monophysitism, just as 'Roman' today means (unfortunately) something other than 'Greek.' Misuse dictates, for the Orthodox scholar, disuse, as regards these terms.

All in all, this slim volume is a useful and important contribution to the study of the Desert Fathers. It provides not only a reasonable translation of primary literature, but by way of the introduction it adds to our understanding of early Christian monasticism. One might only regret that Orthodox scholars, who have a greater familiarity with the spirit of the desert, have been so remiss in dealing with this important area of study.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos

The Ladder of Monks and Twelve Meditations. By Guigo II. Translated, with an introduction, by Edmund Colledge, O.S.A., and James Walsh, S.J. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1981.

Edmund Colledge and James Walsh have made available to us two Carthusian texts from the second half of the twelfth century. These two short works by the ninth prior of the Grand Chartreuse, Guigo II, are

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JOHN MOORHEAD

THE SPIRIT AND THE WORLD

The doctrine of creation shared by Jews, Christians, and Muslims presumes a relationship between God and the world which no other faith asserts: the world has not existed forever, nor did it evolve out of some pre-existent substance, nor did it just happen to be, but it was called into being by God for his own purposes. God stands in relation to the world as its Creator; the world in relation to God as his creation.¹ Thinkers of the eighteenth century enlightenment believed that the Creator did not interfere with his handiwork after the creation, on the analogy of a watch-maker who, once a watch has been made, allows it to function independently of his oversight. We can now see that this position arises naturally from the Newtonian concept of a world functioning according to explicable laws, an assumption tending to minimize divine interest in the world subsequent to its creation, and historically part of a more general tendency to evacuate the world of divine activity. But considering the world not from its own standpoint but from that of its Creator we may assume that, whatever the motive for the creation, God remains interested in it, and in this paper I propose to consider, in what I hope will be seen as an orthodox manner, one mode of divine activity in the world.

We may begin with a famous icon of the Old Testament Trinity painted by Saint Andrei Rublev in the fifteenth century. Based on the story of the Lord appearing to Abraham and Sarah in the form of three men (Gen 18), the icon shows the three persons of the Trinity seated around a table in the guise of angels.² The angel on the viewer's right, who represents the Holy Spirit, touches the table with his right hand. The other angels, representing the Father and the Son, extend the two fingers of blessing over the table; but the angel representing the Spirit touches it. The table stands for the world, and so, the icon suggests, in some way the Spirit is the person of the Trinity most intimately connected with the world. With his left hand the angel representing the Spirit holds a scepter, the end of which touches a mountain, which recalls the biblical mountains of Sinai, Carmel, and Tabor, places where God revealed something of himself. That the Spirit so indicates the mountain shows

1 Claude Tresmontant, *La métaphysique du Christianisme et la naissance de la philosophie chrétienne* (Paris, 1961).

2 The correct interpretation of this icon has been a matter of some discussion, but the position developed here does not seem to go beyond what is generally accepted. See Paul Evdokimov, *L'art de l'icône* (Paris, 1970), pp. 205-16; Edmond Voordekkers, "Rublev's 'Old Testament Trinity,'" *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, 14 (1961), pp. 96-118, 166-76. Each of these studies contains a reproduction.

that within the Trinity such revelations are in some way connected with him. And, moving from the objective content of the icon to the response it evokes in the beholder, most of those who have contemplated it agree that its composition implies circular movement in an anti-clockwise direction, beginning with the angel representing the Spirit and passing to the other two figures. This implies that not only is the Spirit to the fore in divine action towards the world, but also that in any encounter between God and man the Spirit will be the first person encountered.

Scripture suggests that this is so.³ The creation narrative of the Old Testament states that the Spirit *hovered* above the waters (ἐπιφέρετο Gen 1.2; the same verb is used in a literal sense in Gen 7.18). The image is that of a bird (cf. Deut 32.11). Scripture uses a similar concept at the beginning of the New Dispensation, when Gabriel tells the Virgin that the Holy Spirit will come upon (ἐπελεύσεται) her and the power of the Most High overshadow (ἐπισκιάσει) her (Lk 1.35), language which recalls God's presence on Mount Sinai and Mount Carmel in the time of Moses and Elijah. The concept of overshadowing again occurs in the Transfiguration, when a bright cloud overshadowed Christ, Moses, Elijah, and the three disciples (Mt 17.5; Mk 9.7; Lk 9.34). The presence of Moses and Elijah reinforces memories of Sinai and Carmel, and the similarities are emphasized in the traditional icon of the Transfiguration, which shows Christ and the disciples on one mountain, and Moses and Elijah on two others. One also recalls the statement that Moses could not enter the Tent of the Presence, because a cloud had settled on it (ἐπεσκάζεν Ex 40.35).

A similar pattern of thought underlies the narratives of the baptism of Our Lord, where it is stated that the Holy Spirit came down on Christ in the form of a dove (Mt 3.16; Mk 1.10; Lk 3.22; Jn 1.32, 33). Again we are reminded of Sinai, for the Septuagint uses the same word (καταβαίνω) to describe the descent of the Lord on that mountain (Ex 19.11ff.). The descent of the dove over the waters of the Jordan recalls the hovering of the Spirit over the face of the waters at the creation; and it may be that the flight over the waters of the dove released by Noah (Gen 8.8ff.) reinforces the image.

Hence, Scripture confronts us with numerous occasions when God has been operating within his creation, his activity being commonly suggested by a dove or cloud. The repetition of these symbols implies that we are to see them not as isolated events but as forming a continuing theme. Viewed in the light of the Church's Trinitarian teaching, these occurrences would seem to be particularly the work of the Spirit. Of course we should be careful not to read too much into this. It would be the

3 Needless to say in what follows I assume that it is legitimate to interpret Scripture as the book of the Church, rather than appropriating its contents entirely on its own terms. Its contents are richer than its authors may have realised. See on this point the most interesting comments of Peter Abelard, *Introduction ad theologiam* 1.20, PL 178: 1028A.

height of foolishness to speak of the activity of the Spirit in the Annunciation, Baptism, and Transfiguration while ignoring the presence on earth of the Word made flesh; and each of three incidents also involves the Father, so that all three persons participate. Further, we should always be wary of attempts to untangle the mystery of the operation of the respective persons of the Trinity. Nevertheless, it would seem that the occasions we have discussed confront us with a pattern of the intervention of the Spirit in our world, and now that the Son is no longer with us one may ask whether such interventions of the Spirit have ceased. They have not: for the Spirit, eternally proceeding from the Father, has now also been sent by the Son, and now his activity may most clearly be seen in the sacraments instituted by the Son.

Again, a familiar icon provides a convenient starting point. The traditional depiction of the baptism of our Lord shows Christ standing in the Jordan. To one side stands the Baptist, to the other a group of angels, while the Spirit in the form of a dove hovers above. But the icon is not merely concerned with the baptism of Christ, for with his right hand he can be seen blessing the waters of the Jordan and so inaugurating the sacrament of Christian baptism. From this blessing flow all baptisms performed in the Church. In the same way the descent of the Spirit does not merely constitute an acknowledgement of the divine Sonhood of Christ, but also prefigures his descent over the waters of all subsequent baptisms. Scripture teaches that baptism is of both water and the Spirit.⁴ According to Paul the pillar of cloud which led the children of Israel out of Egypt, and the passing of the children through the Red Sea, indicate that they were in a sense baptized ("baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea" 1 Cor 10.1-2; cf. Ex 13.21-22, and Ex. 14.21-22). From this it follows that the Spirit is present in every baptism administered by the Church. Saint Basil writes that in baptism the water stands for death, while the Spirit sends vivifying life, so that what grace (χάρις) there is in the water comes from the Spirit.⁵ Similarly, Saint Cyril of Jerusalem states with respect to the sacrament that ordinary water assumes sanctifying power when it receives the invocation of the Holy Spirit of Christ and the Father. The last phrase has to be read carefully; for in it Cyril does not state that the sanctification is the work of all three persons of the Trinity, but only of the Spirit. In view of this, Cyril continues, candidates for baptism should have regard for the saving power the water possesses by the operation of the Spirit, as baptism involves both water and the Spirit.⁶ This is not to say that the Fathers endorse any kind of "baptism of the Spirit" as

4 Alexander Schmemmann, *Of Water and the Spirit: A Liturgical Study of Baptism* (Crestwood, New York, 1974).

5 *Περὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος*, PG 32: 129.

6 Κατήχησις 3.3. *Cyrilli Hierosolymarum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. W.C. Reischl and J. Rupp (Munich, 1848), p. 66.

understood by some charismatic groups. Rather, they are pointing out that the waters of Christian baptism are made efficacious by the activity of the Spirit.

Just as baptism was inaugurated by Christ in the Jordan at the beginning of his ministry, so he inaugurated the Eucharist in the Upper Room at its completion. The institution of these two sacraments frames Christ's earthly ministry, as it were, and they are two sacraments of quite special character, symbolized by the water and blood which flowed from the side of Christ on Calvary.⁷ The flow from the side of Christ shows, in the most direct way possible, that the sacraments derive from our Lord; yet as with baptism it would be an incomplete view which did not bring out the operation of the Holy Spirit in its performance, for, according to Theophilos of Alexandria, just as the waters of baptism are consecrated by the mystical coming of the Holy Spirit, so too the bread of the Lord and the holy cup are sanctified by the invocation and coming of the Holy Spirit.⁸ The Divine Liturgy of the Orthodox Church unambiguously calls down the Spirit upon the gifts, to make them the body and blood of Christ, and while there may be a certain tension between this invocation (ἐπίκλησις) and the repetition of Christ's institutional narrative (ἀνάμνησις), in that each could be construed as the climax of the eucharistic action, Orthodox tradition has always placed weight on the invocation of the Spirit.⁹

Stories from the history of the Church indicate the emphasis on the descent of the Spirit in the Eucharist within Eastern Christianity. It is said that when Gregory of Nyssa celebrated the holy sacrifice he saw the Holy Spirit descend on the altar.¹⁰ John Moschos, in his *Spiritual Meadow*, tells of several bishops who were also accustomed to seeing the visible descent of the Spirit.¹¹ The biography of the seventh century Coptic Patriarch Isaak tells us:

Each time he went to the altar to make the oblation, from the time he began the holy sacrifice until he finished the service, tears flowed from his eyes, and when the time came for the Holy Spirit to descend on the altar, he saw the Holy Spirit coming on the Victim, changing bread and wine into the divine body of Christ. When the saint saw this great revelation he was seized with fear and joy; shortly his face began to shine with light.¹²

7 The connection between the water and blood and the two sacraments is a commonplace; see for example Saint John of Damascus, *Ἐκδοσις Ἀκριβῆς τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Πίστεως* 4.9.

8 The letter from which this passage comes is preserved in a Latin translation by Saint Jerome, *PL* 22: 801.

9 Cf. Cyrien Kein, "En marge de l'Épiklèse," *Irénikon* 24 (1957), 166-94.

10 *Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite*, ed. and trans. René Basset, *PO* 11: 638.

11 John Moschos, *Λειτουργία*, *PG* 87: 25, 27, 150.

12 E. Amélineau, ed. and trans. *Histoire du patriarche copte Isaac* (Paris, 1890), pp. 51-52.

Accounts such as this make the point of the descent of the Spirit in the Eucharist in a vivid and direct manner.

Hence we may conclude that there seems to be a close connection between the activity of the third person of the Trinity in Old Testament times and during the life of Christ, and now in the sacraments of the Church. Indeed, Saint John of Damascus explicitly compares the operation of the Holy Spirit at the Annunciation with his operation in the Eucharist,¹³ while the early western author Tertullian states that the hovering of the Spirit of God in the beginning was a figure of baptism.¹⁴ Again, one would not wish to emphasize the activity of the Spirit at the expense of the other persons: for example, by stressing his operation in the Eucharist at the expense of the importance of the presence of the Son thereby effected. But the conclusion to be drawn from this discussion is a positive one. God has not abandoned his creation: he who hovered above the waters in the beginning and over the mountains of the old dispensation now hovers above the waters of baptism and the elements of the Eucharist. The world is by no means evacuated of divine activity.

Indeed, it could be argued that in the new dispensation the Spirit is even more with us. For instead of hovering over Sinai, Carmel, and Tabor, peaks inaccessible to human ordinary experience, he can now be summoned down by the Church to operate in the most common matter of our daily existence: water, bread and wine. The powers his followers have, extending almost to the manipulation of their God, throw into relief the astonishing humility of the God of the Christians, and should give them courage that he can never desert his creation.

13 John of Damascus, *Ἐκδοσις Ἀκριβῆς τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Πίστεως* 86, P. Bonifatius Kotter ed. *Die Schriften der Johannes von Damaskos*, 2 (Berlin-New York, 1973), p. 194.

14 Tertullian, *Liber de baptismo* 4, *PL* 1:1311.

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WILLIAM NORGREN

THEOLOGICAL DIALOGUE: A PLACE IN THE FUTURE OF ECUMENISM

I am grateful for the opportunity and privilege of being here to join in honoring His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos. His service to the Orthodox Church and to the ecumenical movement here and around the world is well known. It was in 1959 as a young priest that I first called on His Eminence, when I became director of the new Commission on Faith and Order of the National Council of Churches. I was expectant and a little fearful. I always remember him speaking of the cross to be taken up in a national office, where as a priest I would not have the community of the parish church and its altar. I knew he was a true arch-pastor. Today I offer thanks that God has enabled him to strengthen so many. Praised be God.

Asked what was meant by the official statement, "The tide was not flowing strongly for inter-church conversations," released after the recent meeting of Anglican primates, the primus of the Episcopal Church in Scotland said that after the initial euphoria, where it looked as if good will and a little intelligence would overcome every obstacle, "gradually you move on to areas where the deep, not very well-understood factors that divide the churches and people become apparent. You begin to suffer from weariness in well-doing." The primates, however, warmly encouraged a continued deepening of relationships between Christians both internationally and at the local level.¹

This press report is not a bad summary of the current position in regard to theological dialogue between the churches, although some dialogues suffer more from ennui than others. The primates, however, "warmly encouraged a continued deepening of relationships between Christians." A double meaning seems to be implied: theological dialogue can serve to deepen relationships, both internationally and locally, which can also deepen theological dialogue. Today both dialogue and relationships are uncovering deeper aspects of our longtime divisions.

The future of ecumenism may be debated at many levels, but it is important not to lose sight of the centrality of theological factors. In this discussion we will assert four priorities for theological dialogue which seem to be indicated by our present position.

¹ *The Living Church*, January 6, 1980.

Spiritual Renewal

Masters of the spiritual life teach that God causes dissatisfaction, boredom, and frustration in those whom he desires to move to another level of understanding or vocation. This seems to be happening in the ecumenical movement. The widespread weariness is a sign urging us to venture. We, on the other hand, find it is not easy to leave behind certainties represented by past ecumenical practices and rhetorics. But if there is today a certain ennui and if focus is lacking in ecumenical work, we may suspect that it comes from a failure to give spiritual renewal the attention it requires. Whatever importance we attach to theological conversations or to service in the world, the ecumenical movement is primarily a matter of spiritual renewal.

Recall for a moment that Christian unity has its beginning in the Holy Trinity, which is love and complete unity. Remember that in Christ the whole of human nature is brought into a new relationship, and all believers are called to the unity of Christ's mystical body. Remember that the Holy Spirit, through its divine nature, causes the Church to exercise a uniting power in making believers holy. Through the Holy Spirit we enter the process of becoming sons and daughters of the Creator and the uniting fellowship of the Church. The unity for which we work in the ecumenical movement is a gift of the Holy Spirit.

Why then did the guidance of the Holy Spirit fail to preserve the unity of Christendom? In a recent paper Nicholas Zernov answered in this way:

Can an explanation of this enigma be found in man's failure to obey one of the most challenging precepts of the Gospel, namely Christ's command to love one's enemy, a command which offers to man an entirely new strategy in his combat with evil? [He recalled that in terms of church life 'heretics' and 'schismatics' have been numbered among the enemy and, despite the teaching of the saints], the brute facts of history show us that Christians have on the whole regarded themselves as exempt from the necessity to love those who deviate so far from their tradition that they seem to blaspheme against God.²

It is timely to be reminded that love of a separated brother or sister does not mean indifference to truth. On the contrary, it expresses "a deep concern for a Christian with whom we are in dispute. Such a love requires a readiness to continue the dialogue, a sincere attempt to understand the opponent's arguments and mentality, and above all, trust that the Holy Spirit will lead us to a deeper grasp of the truth." Dr. Zernov suggests that:

² *Sobernost*, Summer, 1979.

a study of the classic alienations of the past—such as that between the Chalcedonians and Monophysites in the sixth century, the ex-communications of 1054 which split Rome and Constantinople, the sixteenth-century Reformation—indicates that the loss of communion could have been avoided if the disputing parties had been ready to take seriously Christ's commandment to love our enemies. In these crises Christians chose another path. In the hardness of their hearts they became increasingly intolerant, rigid in their liturgical life, and less ready to respond to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. This failure to accept the possibility that the Holy Spirit has not abandoned their opponents has contributed to those confessional barriers which we find so hard to break through today.³

If Christian unity has its beginning in the Holy Trinity and is the gift of the Holy Spirit, it has its foundation in the creation of human beings and of human nature. Human beings are free to choose even when the commitment to be an agent of reconciliation is at the very core of Christian identity. The divisions among the churches are a sign of seeking our own will instead of the will of God, of human sinfulness which distorts our relationship not only with our neighbor, but also with God. The Gospel idea of *koinonia* has not been realized.

A better understanding of the human component in the Church will hasten the renewal of unity. We know that those who caused the divisions are gone, but by perpetuating them we give a counter-witness to Christ's loving reconciliation. Furthermore, we believe that we receive the risen body of Christ, the Church, in the Eucharist. When that body is divided and cannot celebrate the Lord's Supper around a common table, we witness not to a love feast, but to a fragmented family. It is important that people experience Eucharists at which they cannot communicate, so that the divisions can be experienced in human terms and the divine call can be heard to work and pray that we all may be one.

Dr. Zernov advises us to "look afresh at the question of the tradition without excluding *a priori* the idea that the guidance of the Holy Spirit may be found not only in the preservation of continuity, but also in the emergency of those new movements which both disturb the peace and enrich the life of the Christian community."⁴ Such considerations bear upon the historical forms of Christianity which are important means for displaying to the world the universality of Christ's salvation and fulfilling His mission of making disciples of all nations. Such considerations also bear upon new movements and communities that spring up in the life of the Church today. Christian unity cannot exist in uniformity, because the unity of the believers is the unity of the Holy Trinity, which is unity in diversity.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

The limitations of this paper permit only a few illustrations of ecumenical theological work to be done in the critical area of spiritual renewal, all recommended by the National Ecumenical Consultation of the Episcopal Church held in 1978:⁵

(1) Bearing in mind the maxim *lex orandi, lex credendi est*, agreed statements reached by church representatives should be tested in a context of prayer to see if they are consistent with the development and nurture offered by the spirituality of each tradition.

(2) Spiritual discernment requires knowledge and appreciation of how the churches reaching agreements 'school' their members in the life of public and private prayer. The dialogues themselves should treat the question of prayer and spiritual life so they can express in a statement how the churches in dialogue view each Christian's relation to God in prayer. In this way we can appreciate and experience the spiritual treasures of other Christian traditions, testing the theological agreements in a deeper context.

(3) Raising consciousness of the need for a unified Christian witness in the midst of human suffering and 'structural evil' may be the most compelling motive for theological dialogue. The growing evidence of the future of a merely secular view of life with its legacy of emptiness and restlessness, manifest among other ways in the increase of violence, alcohol and drugs, and compulsion to acquire more things, calls for Christians to draw together in a more vigorous proclamation of faith and hope.

(4) We can teach an openness to what God is doing in His Church to reform and reconcile, so people can be responsive to whatever openings emerge for ecumenical leadership as they grow in their ministry of service.

Goal of Visible Unity

Two-way conversations between major families of churches did not all begin in 1965, but the Second Vatican Council led to a sharply increased number of widened scope. The efforts of Faith and Order conferences enlisting Protestant, Orthodox, and Anglican representatives for more than fifty years, with Roman Catholics joining them in later years, have contributed to the success of the two-way conversations; and they, in turn, contribute to faith and order. Perhaps this interplay, and the cooperation of theological scholars generally, explains why some of the two-way conversations here moved forward much more rapidly than could have been expected when they were initiated by the churches. Familiar examples are the agreed statements on baptism, Eucharist, ministry and ordination, aspects of authority, and marriage, though ecclesiological issues block the last mentioned to a considerable extent.

⁵ *A Communion of Communion*, p. 9.

The fruits of this work ecclesiastically may be illustrated by the synodical action of the 1979 General Convention of the Episcopal Church affirming that the Anglican-Roman Catholic documents on "Eucharistic Doctrine" and "Ministry and Ordination" provide "a statement of the faith of this Church in the matters concerned and form a basis upon which to proceed in furthering the growth towards uniting the Episcopal Church with the Roman Catholic Church." By this action the convention also paved the way for use of these documents for catechetical purposes, a resource for educating people on what our church believes in relation to other communions. We must remember, however, that when we speak of Anglican-Roman Catholic ecumenical relations, we are not speaking about the quest for unity among national churches alone. Both communions are world-wide and it is necessary for all provinces of the Anglican Communion to act before official agreement can be said to have been reached by the Anglicans so that the consequences can be taken.

Having emphasized the surprising progress of the two-way conversations, we should add a note of warning. Without minimizing the real attainments, we observed that some ecumenists have a tendency to overrate the scope and impact of agreements reached so far. This is partly because we have been emphasizing points of agreement rather than differences, a healthy practice during this time and one recommended by no less a personage than Pope John XXIII. There has also been an understandable desire to hearten the Christian people about the prospects of a common future. We seem now to be entering a time when the discovery of deep and not very well-understood differences, though distressing, will be seen as a necessary step on a very long road to unity.

There are critical areas which so far have only been partially explored, if at all, in the theological dialogue. Because they touch the roots of the identity of Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Anglican churches, these critical areas can be the cause of tension. We have already identified the critical area of spiritual renewal.

A second critical area is the ecumenical future to which the churches are committed, the goal of visible unity. Visible unity is the gift of the Holy Spirit, but it is increasingly important to clarify and ultimately reach consensus on the goal to which the several conversations are related. Twenty years ago the goal was the immediate concern of some Protestant churches and the Anglican and Old Catholic Churches, with a glance from the Orthodox Church. Now it is the concern of nearly the whole of Christianity and a goal for the whole needs to emerge.

Growth involves tension, and there is tension between the goal or goals as perceived twenty years ago and a goal which is struggling to be born. There is tension between some of the ecumenical agencies such as councils and unity negotiations established in light of earlier goals and a goal still being shaped.

General agreement exists on the necessity for agreement on the level of the apostolic faith and sacraments for visible unity, even though disagreement continues on what is included in the essentials. Agreement also exists on maintaining and continuing to develop varieties of theologies, liturgies, organizations, and administrations. The essence of the Church can be distinguished from its historical forms, though not separated from them; the essence is expressed through the ever-changing historical forms. Older models of visible unity often supposed that diversity should exist within a national 'uni-institution.' The model emerging among some Protestant, Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Lutheran circles supposes the universal church to be a "multi-institution—an institution made up, predominantly, of other institutions—as well as of unaffiliated, unchurched Christians."⁶

The 1979 General Convention of the Episcopal Church proposed a vision along these lines: one eucharistic fellowship, a communion of communions. We look for a mutual recognition of the faith, members, ministries, and sacramental life in such a way that we recognize each other as true sister churches within the one Church. The future will signal an inner renewal of communities, retaining their unique characteristics, but able to share the Eucharist and come together in common council with a common primate. In a united church individual member churches would possess relative juridical autonomy, each with its own formulations of theology, liturgy, laws, membership, and organization structure. In cases, however, where circumstances called for it, the way to juridical mergers would not be foreclosed.

The goal is quite remote from its realization, but it is a hope not unfounded on the biblical and historical witness of the Holy Spirit's action in the past. The pluralism of the New Testament visions of the message and meaning of Jesus and of the life of the early churches lays the groundwork for understanding how pluralism can work within a single fellowship of faith and order. The history of the spread and indigenization of the Church, as well as the present mobility of peoples, are indications of the multi-institutional church of the future—local, universal, regional—fostering a unity of faith, communion, and action among Christians. Should the goal be attained, the united church, through openness to the Spirit, would continue the attempt to discern the areas of agreement in essentials and of variety in their expression as new conditions of mission appeared.

Governmental models of the Church which prevailed in the past have lost their power to compel. It remains to be seen whether a still emerging model of a communion of communions or 'multi-institution' will be a compelling, integrating goal in the future.

⁶ Patrich Granfield, *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, p. 442.

Authority

The third critical area calling for attention is authority. Many of the ecclesial problems under this heading have persisted throughout most of church history. So far, the theological dialogues have dealt with authority problems to a limited extent and in a somewhat fragmented way. Attention has gone to such questions as Scripture, tradition, council, and creed. Increased attention should be given to issues clustering around the living voice of authority in the Church. Who speaks for the Church? What is the authority of the whole people, of the hierarchy, of the primacy? How is the Church infallible, and what is the infallible teaching authority of the pope?

Attention to the living voice of authority in the Church brings us to questions insistently raised in the United States and elsewhere by racial and ethnic groups, by women, by movements about their voice in the catholicity of the Church. In pluralistic America their ever-deepening participation in the shaping and sharing of Christian values will be necessary both to maintain existing unity and to grow into fuller unity.

The area of authority is especially critical because of the decisions churches must constantly make, whether decisions about church life and discipline or decisions about a world full of challenges. Churches appealing to the same Scripture, tradition, and creed will, nevertheless, sometimes interpret them differently. Theological dialogue about the process of formulating teaching is therefore a crucial condition for any institutional rapprochement between the churches. Eventually there will have to be some mutual recognition of teaching authority in the context of institutional offices.

In America, particularly, where there is much pluralism in society and in Christianity and where the sciences and arts are vital, though sometimes perceived as dangerous, there is a special opportunity for the churches to contribute to the dialogue in the critical area of authority. Such study should also make us more conscious of the relative youth of the American churches, helping us to perceive the authority of the experience and truth that grows out of the older churches; and also the younger churches in other parts of the world minimize the dangers of provincialism or self-sufficiency, nationalism, and imperialism, and foster the growth of catholicity.

Lastly, deep probings of authority will help in handling questions of dialogue with other religions and with ideological forces in the world. The true voice of authority in the Church will speak in the light of other voices.

The Local Church

The fourth critical area is the local church. The question of the local

church has been particularly difficult to get hold of in the ecumenical movement. Possibly, this is because the World and National Councils of Churches have been stronger while local councils have lacked resources for serious reflection. There is general agreement that the local church, where more direct encounter with Christians of other traditions occurs, is crucial for ecumenism. What we learn for the most part, however, is exhortations, and not much practical theological work is done.

The fact that an amazing variety of forms of local collaboration and experiments go on in no way alters what we have said. The situation calls for serious study, and it is time for the theological conversations to take initiatives. The precise way the questions are formulated will be important. The nature of the local church and its ecumenical activity should be explored not primarily in relation to national or regional churches, but primarily in relation to the universal Church.

We have time for just one illustration to show how critical this area is—the question of the ‘reception’ of agreements reached in theological dialogues. Some leaders have said that the churches should slow down the theological development until the masses of Christian people can catch up with the theological conversations. The positive side of this is commendable, that theologians should take up the task of communicating the products of discussion and test the statements against the faith of the people. In such a process theologians will receive redirection of their work. This is appropriate, for theology, however critical it may be, is at the service of the Church. The negative side of this, that the theological development should be slowed while this happens, is deplorable and probably counterproductive. We do not need alternation between the theological conversations and reception by the local churches; rather we need continuous dialogue between the theological conversations and the local churches. Local testing can deepen the theological conversations as they proceed. Theological development in international and national conversations are not autonomous; it should be conditioned by the catholicity of the local churches and their mission in the world.

The fact is, of course, that the relationship between theological rhetoric and institutional reality has not always been clear. Churches have had severe difficulties in making the proper distinction and maintaining the proper relationship between the Church as a fellowship under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and as a sociological entity molded by the circumstances of history. We have a great deal to learn about how the local church works ecumenically in relation to the universal Church. We are in a rather primitive state of development in this critical area.

Karl Rahner has suggested a quite different role for the local church than that of passive consumer for products of world and national theological dialogues. In addition to responding to their agendas, he said, the local church has an agenda of its own, an original ecumenical

agenda. James Robertson put it this way:

We used to think of the diocese as a convenient administrative section of the Church: the Church is divided into so many dioceses kind-of-thing. The truth is that, in the mystery of God's plan, the whole Church is made present and operative in each local church. The diocese is not a tiny section of the Church; it is the Church in miniature. The full saving power of Christ is therein engaged. The mission of Christ to mankind is therefore committed to the diocese, to each diocese.⁷

To elaborate the original ecumenical agenda of the local church, or rather to help the local churches to see their own ecumenical agenda, is the task as we enter this critical area of theological dialogue. It will free resources for ecumenism where they are. It will help people to make their own that element of the Christian identity which is the thirst for reconciliation among peoples, especially Christians. It will help to make it clear that the mission of the Church is to restore all people to unity with God and each other in Christ.⁸

⁷ James Robertson, *Faith and Unity*, Spring, 1975.

⁸ *Book of Common Prayer*, p. 855.



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TWO POEMS BY THEODORE METOCHITES

On the pages that follow we are offering the text and translation of two hitherto unpublished poems by Theodore Metochites (1270-1332), statesman, scholar, and man of letters of the early Palaeologan period. These two pieces, Poems 3 and 4, have been drawn from the collection of Metochites' twenty poems,¹ of which only the two first have appeared in print.²

The Greek text of the Poems has been established on the basis of *Parisinus Graecus* 1776, fols. 51v-69r, a manuscript revised and amply corrected, we now believe, by Metochites himself. We hope to justify this belief and to list and discuss the corrections in the manuscript in a later issue of the *Review*. At this point, we present only the core of our study.³

1 The titles of the Poems are as follows: 1. Doxology; About Himself and On the Chora Monastery; 2. To the Virgin and Again On the Chora Monastery; 3. To Gregory, the Former Archbishop of All Bulgaria; 4. Counsels to the Wise Nikephoros Gregoras, and Concerning His Own Compositions; 5. On the Great Athanasios; 6. On the Three Hierarchs, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom; 7. Funerary Address On Irene, the Spouse of the Most Divine Emperor Andronikos Palaiologos; 8. Funerary Address On the Young Ruler Michael, Son of the Most Divine Emperor Andronikos Palaiologos; 9. Funerary Address On His Son-in-law the Caesar John Palaiologos; 10. On the Mathematical Branch of Philosophy, and Especially on the Harmonic One; 11. To the Wise Theodore Xanthopoulos and on His Own Vexations; 12. To the Wise Nikephoros Xanthopoulos and On His Own Compositions; 13. To His Nephew the Protoasekretis < Leon Bardales > and On Their Earlier Way of Life; 14. To Himself On the Difficulties in His Affairs; 15. To Himself Again and On the Difficulties of His Existence; 16. To Himself Again and On the Ebb and Flow of Life's Affairs; 17-20. To Himself After the Turn of His Fate.

2 M. Treu, *Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites* [= Programm Victoria—Gymnasiums Potsdam, Ostern 1895] (Potsdam, 1895). Excerpts from our Poem 4 have been published on at least three occasions; cf. John Boivin in the Bonn edition of Nikephoros Gregoras, *Hist.*, 2 (1830), 1226; Guiland, "Les poésies inédites..." (as in this note below), 269-78; and I. Ševčenko, "Storia letteraria; Seminario 3°," in *La civiltà bizantina dal XII all'XV secolo* [Corsi di Studi—3, 1978] (Bari, 1981). For a discussion of Metochites' Poems, cf. R. Guiland, "Le palais de Théodore Métochite," *Revue des Etudes grecques*, 35 (1922), 82-95 (on Poem 19; unreliable); idem, "Les poésies inédites de Théodore Métochite," *Byzantion*, 3 (1926), 265-302 (reprinted, without Greek texts, in idem, *Études byzantines* [Paris, 1959], 177-205); I. Ševčenko, "Observations sur les recueils des discours et des poèmes de Théodore Métochite et sur la bibliothèque de Chora à Constantinople," *Scriptorium*, 5 (1951), 279-88 (our present views differ from those expressed in that article); M. Gigante, "Il ciclo delle poesie inedite di Teodoro Metochites a se stesso o sull' instabilità della vita," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 2 [= *Polychordia*, Festschrift Franz Dölger] (Amsterdam, 1967), 204-24; and "Storia letteraria..." (as in this note above).

3 For some codicological discussion of the *Parisinus Graecus* 1776, cf. Ševčenko, "Storia Letteraria..." (as in the preceding note).

We also hope to append a succinct commentary on the Poems; for the time being that function must be assigned to our translation.

The reader facing Metochites and his convoluted writings for the first time may turn to ample secondary literature on both, for much has been written on our author in the last thirty years, from a brilliant assessment of his *Miscellaneous Essays* by Professor Beck to a recent one-page vignette aiming at a general public.⁴ For the understanding of the general drift of the two Poems published here, it should be sufficient to state that the *grande carrière* of Metochites began in 1305, when he became prime minister or rather chief intermediary (μεσάζων) of the Emperor Andronikos II, a key post which he held for twenty-three years. He fell from power in 1328 with the fall of his imperial protector, who was ousted by his grandson Andronikos III at the end of a protracted civil war (1321-1328). Metochites was banished to Didymoteichos for two years, and was later allowed to return to Constantinople and to settle in his monastery of Chora. There, he reread his works and wrote some more, in which he bemoaned his fate. He died in 1332.

As a politician, Metochites was a man of action. But he was more than that: he was also a prolific writer. It was his *Eulogy of Nicaea*, pronounced in front of the Emperor who stopped in that city during a voyage of inspection, that brought the twenty-year-old youth to Andronikos II's attention in 1290. Metochites continued writing until the last years of his life. His output was thus considerable and covered a number of scientific and literary genres: *Commentaries* on Aristotle, one-hundred-and-twenty *Miscellaneous Essays*, Introduction to Astronomy, eighteen *Speeches*, and, as we already know, twenty *Poems*. We still possess most of this bulk, amounting to some 1900 folios. We only regret the loss of his Correspondence which perished in the fire of the Escorial in 1671.

Metochites was proud of his literary production—one had but to read Poem 4 to realize this—and even more of his scientific feat, the renewal of the knowledge of astronomy. By this he meant having written a treatise offering a restatement of Ptolemy's *Almagest*—a genuine achievement, since Ptolemy's is a complicated and technical work—and having transposed Ptolemy's tables to a new epoch of 1283, the first year of the rule of Andronikos II. This latter rearrangement we consider

4 Cf., at the one end of the scale, H.-G. Beck, *Theodoros Metochites, die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1952) and on the other, I. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, Literary Statesman: 1270-1332," *Harvard Magazine*, July-August 1979, 39. For the access to works on Metochites and his period, cf. I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels, 1962), esp. p. 3, n. 1; idem, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time," *The Kariye Djami*, 4 (Princeton, 1975), 17-91, esp. 23, n. 29, and H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 1 (Munich, 1978), 22-23, 38, 52, 59-60, 130, 156, 169, 172-74, 192-93, 236; 2 (Munich, 1978), 67, 111, 162, 221, 248-49, 252, 256.

trivial; Metochites was of a different opinion, and alluded to it, among other places, in his Poem 4 (257-62).

Throughout his political career, Metochites was aware of the tension between the active life which provided him with wealth and power, and the *vita contemplativa* of a scholar and man of letters which, as he says somewhere, he abandoned "in mid-stream." He frequently alluded to this plight in his writings; he had dreaded—and foreseen—his fall for some time before it occurred and wrote on the instability of life. As time went by, he turned more and more to the thought of retiring and living in quiet contemplation. Much of Poem 3, especially lines 43-75 and 115-128, with their wistful, and somewhat jealous, admiration for his addressee's angelic way of life in a monastery bears witness to these longings. Still, Metochites never brought himself to solve the dichotomy of his existence: it was solved for him by the catastrophe of 1328.

The reader of our Poems might keep two more points about Metochites in mind. In the first place, he strove for immortality in this world—an ambition which strikes us as non-mediaeval—and disguised this quest of his as a general trait of human nature (cf. Poem 4, 237-41; 310-22). He tried to realize this ambition for himself both by writing and by restoring and lavishly decorating the monastery of Christ Savior of Chora, his own residence toward the end of his life and, as Poem 4 informs us, the dwelling place of his protégé Nikephoros Gregoras. Metochites succeeded on both counts: his works are still studied and the Chora, now a museum, is among the Byzantine treasures of modern Istanbul.

Secondly, Metochites was a book collector and a lover of books; of *de luxe* editions of his own writings, to be sure, but also of works of the Classics and of the Church Fathers. At Chora, he assembled the best private library in the capital, and he reminded the addressee of Poem 4—as he did other addressees—of his anxious concern for the welfare of his collection.

It is easy to criticize Metochites' verses, for while he had poetical ambitions, he ignored or disdained conventional rules of versification and, if truth be told, lacked poetical talent. A learned man of the preceding generation, Maximos Planudes, wrote much more "correct" hexameters than those churned out by our author; and in the subsequent generation, Nicholas Kabasilas was better than he at epic diction. However, both Planudes and Kabasilas produced only short samples of their skill and this skill consisted mostly in close adherence to Homeric vocabulary and formulae. The case of 9,100 lines of Metochites' verse is different.

At first sight, these verses, too, are replete with Homeric formulae and words: we encounter ἐνέπειν (2);⁵ αὐτῶς at the end of the line (6); ἠνορέηφι πεποιθῶς (16); ἔαων (20); the ubiquitous μάψ (97); ἀτυγέτοιο

5 Unless otherwise stated, all the examples are drawn from Poem 3.

θαλάσσης (122); ἐδητύος ἡδὲ ποτήτος (173); ἀχνύμενον κῆρ (248); πρόμον (274); θυμὸς ἄνωγεν (Poem 4, 24).

Soon, however, we discover small discrepancies and near misses, for we read μηδενόσωρα, "of no account" (9), while *Iliad* 8.178 has οὐδενόσωρα; μέθυ for "wine" (122); or τολυπεύοντας meaning "to be busy" (181) rather than "to accomplish."

Μέροπας ἀνθρώπους is, to be sure, a Homeric formula, but it is absent from Homer in the accusative, for reasons of meter. We also meet with expressions that sound Homeric but are not, such as ἐς βυθόν...ῥιπτοῦσι ταρταρόεντα (130), with which compare ῥίψω ἐς τάρταρον ἡερόεντα of *Iliad* 8.13. Or else, all the building blocks of an expression may be attested in Homer in the exact form in which they are used by our poet, but the result is far removed from the Homeric perception of the world: such are the formulae for the "turbulent life," "path of life," or the "sea of life," πολυφλοίσβοιο βίοτοιο (123), βίοτοιο κέλευθον (58 and 99), and βίοτοιο θάλασσαν (204).

A number of Metochites' poetic words come from later Epic or from Tragedy, rather than from Homer: such are ἀστυφέλικτος (217 and elsewhere), used by Nonnos in the fifth century of our Era; ἀπόπολις (50); or the syncopated forms αἰῶ for αἰῶνα (20 and elsewhere) and εἰκῶ for εἰκόνα (Poem 4, 20). One important source for Metochites' epic vocabulary is to be found in the hexameters of Gregory of Nazianzos, another outstanding egocentric of Byzantine letters who, too, addressed poems "To Himself." Thus, ὕψιμέδοντος (51), absent from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, entered Metochites' verses not from the Homeric epigrams, where it once occurs, or from Hesiod, but from Gregory, who uses it repeatedly as the epithet of the Christian God.⁶ In addition to words coming from outside the Homeric corpus, Metochites forged epic-sounding neologisms or used false forms: ἀκύρια (181), ἀμφάκτιος, "near the shore" (197), σκουπιωρῆς, "lookout" (192), formed after σκοπιωρός, "watcher," or ἀμβιώσκων (141), when only the middle voice βιώσκομαι is attested. Since Metochites knew that Homer employed Aeolisms such as ἄμμιν, or Ionisms, such as ἐνθεῦτεν, he used them, too (68, 83, 200, 293), but went further and formed Aeolisms absent from the Epic, such as ἐχοισαν or διδοῖσαν (Poem 4, 176); moreover, his verses are interspersed with Dorisms: φαντί (8), ἀρετάν (64), ἡδονᾶς (99, 119), τάνδ' (143), or δίκαν (298).

The metric system of Metochites is still unclear to us, except for the realization that our poet did not adhere to standard rules. That system there was, appears from the fact that many corrections which he introduced in the manuscript do not change the meaning of his verses or substitute new words for the erased ones, but aim at creating long

6 E.g. Migne, *PG* 37:1532A. For other examples of Metochites' dependence on Gregory's poetry, cf. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora..." (as in note 4 above), 38, n. 149. For Maximos Planudes' Anthology as a possible direct source for Metochites' acquaintance with Gregory's hexameters, cf. *ibidem*, 42, n. 175.

syllables, especially in the last foot. He knew of the epic lengthening, and made a general use of the device even where it would not occur in Homer: λοῦγος (40), βρουτοῖσιν (46), ποῦθον (53), πουλλάς (104), μουνάν (145: lengthening and Dorism), πουθή (153), ἀφρούντιστον (163). As, however, he had no feeling for the long vowels, he would practise false elision, as in ἰδί' ἑκάστα for ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστα (214).

All this amounts to saying that Metochites, who used Homer only as a guide and who was not inhibited by a philologist's rigorous approach, created an epic language of his own. Today, we, like our Byzantine scholarly predecessors, advocate close adherence to the classical canon in versification. We therefore consider Metochites' attempt to have been a failure, and understand the sentiments of a Jean Boivin, who in 1702 called him "the worst of versifiers," or of a Charles-Benoît Hase, who in the past century found that as a poet, Metochites was "too inept for words." We would be disposed to overlook our author's technical imperfections, if his hexameters struck us as poetry: instead, we perceive them as versified rhetorical prose⁷—incidentally a reproach which can also be levelled at one of Metochites' models, Gregory of Nazianzos.⁸

This versified prose is abstract, cerebral and difficult to unravel, and the challenge Metochites' verses present to the modern editor is that of a double-croctic. Having established a poem's text, the editor must not be satisfied with a mere paraphrase, but must provide a full translation. This not only to help the reader, but also to make sure that the editor himself has gotten the text's drift correctly. Once deciphered, the message of Metochites' verses is the same as that of his prose—transpositions of phrases from the *Speeches* or the *Miscellaneous Essays* into hexameters or explicit references to his own oratorical writings are the outward intimation of this. Almost one half of the Poems consist of the musings of a widely-read man, conscious of his intellectual achievements and of his political power; a man who is proud of his wealth and munificence, and therefore overbearing, but who is tormented, beset with doubts about the course taken by his life and feels threatened. The threat comes both from the anticipated revolt of those exploited by the régime he came to represent, and from the challenge of the new generation, hungry for power and disputing it with Metochites, his friends and the old emperor.⁹ We listen to a self-centered man, to be sure, presenting his egocentricity as a universal trait of human nature, but also to a man able to rise above self-pity and concern for himself and to deplore the

7 Similar perception in Gigante, "Il ciclo..." (as in note 2 above), 221-22.

8 Cf. Ch. Jungck, *Gregor von Nazianz, De vita sua...* (Heidelberg, 1974), 21-24 (parallels between Gregory's prose and hexameters).

9 Andronikos II was old, passive, and incapable of defending the state; he was unnaturally clinging to power, and time for a change was long overdue. All this was explicitly stated in a speech which Nikephoros Gregoras, *Hist.*, 399, 5-400, 5 Bonn put into the mouth of Andronikos III.

plight of "our nation,"¹⁰ to foresee—somewhat prematurely—the imminent collapse of the remnants of the Byzantine Empire, and to be deeply distressed by that prospect.

Modern mediaevalists are turning to the study of group mentalities—for Byzantium a virtually virgin, and therefore exciting, subject. Those who stay behind—and that includes students of mentalities of individual members of the Byzantine élite—may strengthen themselves by the thought that they have a job to finish; publishing Metochites' remaining poems is a part of this job.¹¹

II

Of the two Poems presented here, one, Poem 3, is addressed to Metochites' literary friend and fellow member of the old emperor's camp, Gregory, the former archbishop of "All Bulgaria"; the other, Poem 4, is an appeal directed to the future historian Nikephoros Gregoras, Metochites' protégé, disciple and spiritual heir.

We know a great deal about Nikephoros Gregoras (1292/6-1358/61). A friend or enemy of three emperors, he was a major figure in the intellectual movement and religious controversies between the late twenties and the fifties of the century. In his earlier years, he was a teacher: either as a professor in a school of his own, where he taught the *quadrivium*, or as a preceptor of imperial and high society ladies. He left a considerable *oeuvre* as author of imperial Encomia, Funerary Speeches, and of dialogues reflecting squabbles among intellectuals; as astronomer and computist; as tireless letter writer, hagiographer, anti-Palamite theologian, and, above all, historian.¹²

10 Cf. Poem 16, *Parisinus Graecus* 1776, fol. 204r, 18: γένεος ἡμετέροιο δαρὸν δὴ τρυχομένοιο and fol. 204v, 4, where the author entreats God ὅλαθι τῷδε γένει κεν σφίσιν ἐπύσχοε δεινόν. The use of γένεος for "the Byzantine nation" (attested in this sense as early as the thirteenth century) is one of Metochites' rare concessions to the usage current in his time (both in low and high style writings) and foreshadows modern developments. For γένεος = "our nation" in high style, cf. Manuel II, Letters 39, 22 and 40, 4, ed. G. T. Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus* ... [= Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 8] (Washington, D.C., 1977), 105-107. The non-classicizing contemporary of Metochites, Patriarch Athanasios I, has γένεος frequently in his correspondence: cf. A.-M. Maffrey Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasius I...* (Washington, D.C., 1975), especially the note to Letter 58, 46, with bibliography. Cf. John Kananos in his treatise on the Siege of Constantinople in 1422, PG 156:73B, 77A, and Doukas, *Hist.*, chap. 40:5 and 42:14.

11 As early as 1897, K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*..., 554 announced an edition of Metochites' "remaining poems" by M. Treu (with a study of their manuscript tradition, language and metrics). Nothing came of this edition. In 1967, M. Gigante in "Il ciclo..." (as in note 2 above), 207 spoke of having prepared an edition of Poems 14-20. To our knowledge, it has not yet appeared.

12 For a short biography of Gregoras and an excellent access to bibliography on him cf. *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, fasc. 2 (Vienna, 1977) nr. 4443, to which add J. Mogenet and A. Tihon, *Barlaam*... (as in note 35 below), 150-57, and H.-V. Beyer, "Eine Chronologie der Lebensgeschichte des Nikephoros Gregoras," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 27 (1978), 127-55. Among the items quoted in the *Prosopographisches Lexikon*, the most useful is J. L. Van Dieten, *Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte*... 1 [= Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, 4] (Stuttgart, 1973), 1-35 and 44-62.

Gregoras' early career in the Capital developed largely under Metochites' patronage. He was born in Heracleia on the Pontos (today Karadeniz Ereğlisi) in the last decade of the thirteenth century: the exact date of his birth is controverted. It was in Heracleia that he received a good first education under the tutelage of his uncle John, who was Metropolitan of that city. Gregoras arrived in Constantinople, very likely in the company of his uncle, probably in his late teens. We do know that by the age of twenty or twenty-one he was already in the Capital, and was a frequent visitor to the literary salon of Patriarch John Glykys (1315-1319). The Patriarch and Metochites were old friends; thus it was in all likelihood through him that the promising youth from the provinces was introduced to the Emperor's right-hand man, some twenty-five years his senior. By 1316 or thereabouts Gregoras was assisting Metochites in the work of restoration undertaken in the Chora Monastery which Metochites had just taken over. From then on, the relations between patron and protégé grew progressively closer and contributed to Gregoras' rapid social ascent. He taught Metochites' sons with indifferent success, and his daughter with good results. He persuaded Metochites to initiate him into technical astronomy and about 1324 was able to propose a reform for computing the date of Easter. Scientifically, this was a reasonable idea, but it was not accepted for political reasons. Some two years before 1324, when he was twenty-seven, he was introduced by Metochites to the Emperor and to the imperial scholarly circle.

By Gregoras' own testimony, Metochites treated him almost as one of his children.¹³ The close relationship between the two withstood the test of the fateful year of 1328. In that year Gregoras, too, suffered loss of property, but was not banished, remaining in the Chora Monastery where his protector had installed him earlier. After some two to four years of eclipse, Gregoras came into the good graces of the new régime, including the prime minister John Kantakouzenos and the new Emperor, Andronikos III, but he remained faithful to the memory of his benefactor on the pages of his *History* and in an Epitaph in elegiac verse. Only in two respects of interest to us did Gregoras' assessments differ from those of Metochites: he reports that far from "desiring" and being "most anxious" to teach him "the whole" astronomy (Poem 4, 187-89), Metochites was initially reluctant to share with him the tenets of this science, which carried a great deal of social prestige—and we should prefer this version to that of Metochites.¹⁴ Moreover, Gregoras was critical of Metochites' unorthodox, rambling and harsh style¹⁵—a judgment to which any reader of that author can easily subscribe.

In comparison to Gregoras, the addressee of Poem 3, Gregory, Arch-

13 Nik. Gregoras, *Hist.*, 309, 2-4 Bonn.

14 Ibid. 322, 6-8 Bonn.

15 Ibid. 272, 6-14 Bonn.

bishop of "All Bulgaria," that is, of Ochrid, is a more shadowy figure. In 1926 Rodolphe Guiland provided Gregory with a cursory notice, and as late as 1948, the almost infallible Franz Dölger thought that nothing was known about him.¹⁶ In fact we do know quite a few details concerning this prelate.¹⁷ Gregory, a Byzantine coming from the Capital, became Archbishop of Ochrid shortly before June 1312; he was certainly in Ochrid in 1314, when he built or restored the Exonarthex of the Cathedral Church of Saint Sophia in that city, a feat which he commemorated by a brick inscription composed—or perhaps adapted—for the occasion.¹⁸ He may have been residing in Ochrid in 1315 or shortly

16 R. Guiland, *Études byzantines* (as in note 2 above), 179-80; F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948), 123.

17 Best to date is the entry in *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, fasc. 2 (1977), nr. 4482. We enlarge somewhat upon that entry in the present article. We were able to read a part of the unpublished doctoral dissertation on Ochrid defended by Cvetan Grozdanov in Belgrade in 1979, namely its chapter I, "Ochrid i ohridska arhiepiskopija u XIV veku. Političke i crkvene prilike." We wish to thank both the author and Professor Božidar Ferjančić for making the typescript of that chapter available to us.

18. Best reproduction of the inscription in Cvetan Grozdanov, "Prilozi proučavanju Sv. Sofije ohridske u XIV veku," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti*, 5 (1969), after p. 50 (photo and tracing). The inscription, in dodecasyllables, is unfortunately damaged; according to Grozdanov, it runs: + ΜΩΧC O ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟ [] ΓΑ ΝΕΩ : CΚΗΝΗΝ ΕΓΕΙΡΑC ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ : ΕΘΝΗ ΤΑ ΜΥCΩΝ ΕΚΑΙΔΑCΚΕΙ ΠΑΝCΟΦΩC + ΕΤ (ΟΥC) ΞΩΚΒ (= 1313/14). In the first line, Grozdanov marks ΓΑ as not sure, and J. Ivanov, *Bŭlgarski starini iz Makedonija* (2nd ed., 1931), 34 read these letters as ΙΔ. This makes the reading of these two letters as ΗΛ possible. Now, in a *Canon* in honor of Clement of Ochrid, Demetrios Chomatianos, Archbishop of All Bulgaria (thirteenth century) calls his hero a νέος Μωσῆς, "new Moses," and a Μωσαϊκή πέτρα, "Mosaic rock," likens his Slavic flock to νέον... Ἰσραήλ, asks him one last time to teach in the confines of Bulgaria, and praises him for having erected (ἡγείρας) churches. In his *Short Life of Clement* (the so-called *Ochrid Legend*), Chomatianos reports that Clement's writings were revered no less than Μωσαϊκαὶ θεόγραφοι πλάκες ἐκείναι, "those Divinely written tablets of Moses" (incidentally, θεόγραφος is a rare word); in his teachings, Clement explained the "most lawful" (εὐνομώτατον) way of life to the Bulgarians. In another *Canon*, attributed to Theophylaktos of Ochrid (eleventh century), Clement has guided ἔθνη Μυσῶν, "the Mysian peoples," to the faith; he is also the teacher (διδάσκαλον) of the peoples of Mysia. Cf. G. Balasčev, *Kliment episkop slovenski i službata mu po star slovenski prevod...* (Sofia, 1898), 13; 31; 12; 18; 8; 9; 22; 27; 37; 43. In the light of these parallels, we propose the following reconstruction of the inscription: Μωσῆς ὁ Γρηγόριο (ς Ἰσρα) ἦλ νέω : σκηνήν ἐγείρας, τὸν θεόγραφον νόμον : ἔθνη τὰ Μυσῶν ἐκδιδάσκει πανσόφως. "◁ Like ▷ Moses, Gregory, having erected a tabernacle for the New Israel, teaches the Mysian peoples the Divinely written Law in an all-wise fashion."

We avoid interpreting ΝΕΩ as νέω, "the temple," for we do not expect an accent on the ultimate in a fourteenth-century dodecasyllable. By σκηνήν, "tabernacle," Gregory must have meant the Exonarthex. After σκηνήν one might expect θεογράφων νόμων, a genitive, after the pattern of σκηνή μαρτυρίου, a term quite frequent in the Septuagint; thus: "tabernacle of Divinely written Laws." We keep, however, the accusative, for we assume that the learned Gregory would have detected the bricklayer's spelling error of ο for ω.

In sum, Gregory's inscription borrows, or echoes, words and formulae of praise by which other bishops of Ochrid extolled their predecessor Clement who, too, taught "Divinely written Law," i.e., the Gospel in Slavic, and the "most lawful" ways of life to "the New Israel," or "Mysians," i.e., Bulgarians or Macedonians, long before Gregory did, and whose writings were likened to the "Divinely written tablets of Moses." We do not pursue here the possible implications of all this for the history of the Exonarthex of Saint Sophia. If the inscription's words about Gregory's teaching the Mysian peoples are more than a *flosculus*, they may refer to some instruction instituted by him in the Exonarthex, for we know of school lessons being given in narthexes of churches.

thereafter: about that time the future Metropolitan of Ephesos, Manuel Gabalas, wrote from Philadelphia to the Metropolitan of Bulgaria and referred to the "long and dangerous journey" which the bearer of his letter was undertaking to reach the addressee.¹⁹ Gregory retired from his "splendid" see (43-46), apparently voluntarily, sometime before 1327 and settled in the Monastery of the Archangel Michael on the Bosphorus which he had probably received from Andronikos II. We learn about the name and location of Gregory's new residence from Poem 3, our only explicit source on this point. The monastery was a "lofty lookout," that is, it must have stood on a high ridge; Gregory could contemplate the currents of the Bosphorus from it; conversely, those sailing by could see it from the water (192-99; 208; 223-30). The poem's information is corroborated by the pathologically verbose epistolographer Michael Gabras: it can be deduced from one of his letters to "Gregory, former Archbishop of Bulgaria" that about 1327 Gregory lived at a spot which could be reached by sea or by land and which was situated at a distance of less than three hours' travel from the Capital.²⁰

It is not easy to determine which of the two shrines dedicated to the Archangel Michael on the European shores of the Bosphorus was Gregory's dwelling place, for there is some confusion, both in modern scholarship and in the sources, between the two. We opt for the one at Sosthenion (Istinye of today), a locality situated about thirteen kilometers from the Seraglio Point in the City. We do it not without hesitation, for we note that if Gabras timed his distances correctly, Gregory's Monastery of Saint Michael was more likely the closer Michaelion between Arnavutköy and Bebek rather than the more remote Saint Michael at Sosthenion.²¹ There was a recent precedent for assigning the Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Sosthenion (sometimes disconcertingly called Saint Michael at Anaplous) to prelates living away from their see: in 1278, Michael VIII awarded it to the Patriarch

19 Text in J. Gouillard, "Après le schisme arsénite; la correspondance du Pseudo-Jean Chilas," *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la section historique*, 24 (1943; publ. 1944), 202-03, letter 5, esp. line 18: ταλαιπορίαν ὁδοῦ καὶ κινδύνου τοσούτου. To be sure, the reference to the difficulties of the journey may apply to the stretch between Philadelphia and the Capital. The addressees of Ps.-Chilas' other letters resided in Constantinople. Pseudo-John Chilas was identified with Manuel Gabalas (the same person as Matthew, Metropolitan of Ephesos) by St. I. Kourouses, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς εἶτα Ματθαῖος μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου*, 1 (Athens, 1972), 122-39.

20 Cf. G. Fatouros, ed., *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras (ca. 1290-nach 1350)*, 2 (Vienna, 1973), 688 = Letter 447, 6-8.

21 In our choice of Sosthenion we were swayed by the admittedly complicated reasoning by J. Pargoire, "Anaple et Sosthène," *Izvestija russkogo arxeologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole*, 3 (1898), 60-97; Pargoire was followed by R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, 3 (Paris, 1953), 359-62. Both authors maintain that by the fourteenth century, there was no *monastery* of Saint Michael in the area between Arnavutköy and Bebek.

Athanasios of Alexandria;²² it must have been a desirable residence, for about 1305 it became a bone of contention between that Patriarch and his namesake, Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople.²³ Thus Metochites may be believed when he describes Gregory's monastery as "all-beautiful," "famed and lovely," a "delightful sight," and of great expanse (145; 223-28; 230-31). By 1347, Gregory is referred to as deceased.

For years Gregory was a favorite and a supporter of Emperor Andronikos II. Metochites puts a great deal of emphasis on the close relationship between the two friends (268-271), and parallel evidence bears him out. In June 1312, the Emperor issued a *Prostagma* forbidding imperial officials to interfere with the property of any deceased Archbishop of Ochrid or any deceased bishop of that diocese, or to molest people having served them.²⁴ The *Prostagma* of 1312 was promulgated in response to a submission by an unnamed Archbishop of Ochrid, but it is safe to see in it an act of the Emperor's personal favor on behalf of our Gregory, recently installed upon the archiepiscopal throne. Since by that time Metochites was the all-powerful prime minister, issuing imperial privileges for money to strangers and—we hope *sine pecunia*—to his friends, we may surmise that he was instrumental in arranging for the act of 1312. We learn from documents of 1347-49 that at an unknown date—possibly before 1312—Andronikos II awarded the Monastery of Virgin Psychosostria in Constantinople to Gregory, that Gregory enjoyed founder's rights there and that he added to the Monastery's property.²⁵ The two icons, now at the National Museum of Ochrid, that of the Virgin Psychosostria and that of Christ Psychosostes,²⁶ may have been brought by Gregory from the Capital to his see. These two jewels of early Palaeologan art vouch for the taste and opulence of the Monastery's

22 Combine Pachymeres, *Hist.*, 2, 203, 6-8 with 579, 16-18 Bonn. In the latter passage, Pachymeres speaks of Saint Michael at Anaplous. In the wake of Pargoire, Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique...* (as in the preceding note), 362 localized the Michael Monastery given by Michael VIII to Athanasios of Alexandria as that at Sosthenion. For other patriarchs residing in that monastery, cf. Pargoire, "Anaple..." (as in the preceding note), 88; 96.

23 Cf. e.g., Maffry-Talbot, *Correspondence...* (as in note 10 above), 385-86, with references, who puts that monastery between Anavutkoy and Bebek, against Pargoire and Janin.

24 Cf. Joh. and Pan. Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum*, 1 (Athens, 1931), 537-38 and F. Dolger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des ostromischen Reiches*, 1, 4 (1960), 57-58, nr. 2336.

25 Cf. Arkadios of Vatopedi, Γράμματα τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μονῆς τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Ψυχωσωστρίας, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbucher*, 13 (1937), γ'-ιγ', esp. Act 1, 17-20; Act 2, 14-18 and Act 3, 53-57. Cf. also Dolger, *Aus den Schatzkammern...* (as in note 16 above), 122, nr. 43/4, 11-15 (text); idem, *Regesten...* (as in the preceding note), 1, 5 (1965), 17-18, nr. 2931 and 22-23, nr. 2956. Cf. also J. Darrouzès, *Les registres des Actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, 1, 5 (Paris, 1977), 239-40, nr. 2294.

26 Cf. e.g., V. J. Djurić, *Ikônes de Yougoslavie* (Belgrade, 1961), 91-93 (numbers 14 and 15) and Plates 17-25.

patron—or its imperial donor, if they are Andronikos' presents to Gregory. For Andronikos II made at least one precious gift to his favorite. The inscription embroidered on the luxurious *epitaphios*, kept in Ochrid until 1916, addresses "the shepherd of the Bulgarians" and asks him to remember "the ruler Andronikos Palaiologos" during the liturgy. The *epitaphios* is therefore to be dated to 1312 or shortly thereafter.²⁷

Gregory remained—at least ostensibly—²⁸ in the camp of Andronikos II until the very end. Late in 1327, that is, in the final stages of the civil war, he was the ranking member of a delegation, between eight and twenty-eight men strong, which Andronikos II sent to Rhegion (Küçükçeşmece) west of the Capital to investigate the accusations levelled at his grandson, the future Emperor Andronikos III.²⁹ One of the delegation's members was Theodore Xanthopoulos, the addressee of Metochites' Poem 11, dating from the late thirteen-twenties. Thus we see Gregory as a member of a closely knit group whose interests were linked to those of the old emperor.

Poem 3 is not the only piece of evidence attesting to Gregory's contacts with Metochites: in a letter dating from after 1321, the Archbishop requested his powerful friend's help in a delicate matter: a nun—or abbess—had been involved in some anti-governmental talk and her landed property had been confiscated. Gregory asked Metochites to intervene, so that the property would be restored to the woman.³⁰

Gregory was able to appreciate Metochites' works (25-39), for he was a

27 For the *epitaphios* cf. D. Stojanović, *Umetnički vez u Srbiji od XIV-og do XIX-og veka* (1952), 41 with bibliography, to which add G. Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin* (Paris, 1947), 89-90 and Pl. 178, and P. Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (London, 1967), 117-18 and fig. 93. During discussion at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium of May 1979 one of us connected the *epitaphios* with Gregory of Bulgaria and proposed the year 1312 or thereabouts as its date; we are pleased to discover that Grozdanov makes the same connection in his typewritten dissertation of 1979 (as in note 17 above), 6. The usual date given for the *epitaphios* is 1295. The sole reason for this dating seems to be the fact that since at least 1519 the *epitaphios* was kept in Saint Clement (Virgin Peribleptos) at Ochrid, a church which was dedicated in 1295. It is, however, more than likely that originally the embroidery had nothing to do with Saint Clement, but was moved there from Saint Sophia of Ochrid when Saint Clement became the archiepiscopal see (ca. 1500).—According to I. Snegarov, *Istorija na oxridskata arxiepiskopija*, 1 (Sofia, 1924), 213, Gregory erected an ambo in the church of Saint Sophia of Ochrid; it had four monograms, two of which read Γρηγόριος.

28 It is noteworthy that Andronikos II's enemy, John Kantakouzenos, should sing the praise of Gregory's culture (cf. note 31 below). Moreover, members of the delegation that visited Andronikos III in 1327 were said to have spread views favorable to him upon their return to the Capital, cf. Nikephoros Gregoras, *Hist.*, 403, 3-6 Bonn. Our Gregory was a member of that delegation.

29 Combine Kantakouzenos, *Hist.*, 1, 226, 3-16 Bonn with Nik. Gregoras, *Hist.*, 398, 11-13 Bonn. Cf. Dölger, *Regesten...* (as in note 24 above), 1, 4 (1960), 114, nr. 2585; Darrouzès, *Les regestes...* (as in note 25 above), 1, 5 (1977), 104, nr. 2139.

30 Cf. Letter 2, Sp. Lampros, ed., Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 14 (1917), 344-45. Gregory's addressee is called "my most wise friend, the Great Logothete."

man of learning, a friend of letters and even something of a classicist. He, too, wrote hexameters and shared Metochites' admiration for Gregory of Nazianzos. Kantakouzenos praised Gregory for his culture and wisdom,³¹ but only a few of his writings remain to confirm this judgment: three epigrams; a few letters; an unpublished *Canon* on the Seventh Ecumenical Synod of Nicaea; and *stichera*, preserved only in a Church Slavonic translation, in honor of Clement, disciple of the Slavic apostles Cyril and Methodios and a missionary bishop who died in Ochrid in 916.³² When Metochites mentioned "psalms and supplicatory hymns to God both public and private" among Gregory's "efforts" (82-84), he may have been alluding to Gregory's sacred poetry, rather than to his singing hymns during the service.

III

If our present view on the make-up of the *Parisinus Graecus* 1776 is correct—that it initially consisted of the first sixteen poems and was executed in this form shortly before Metochites' fall—then both our Poems should be earlier than 1328. Beyond this, we are reduced to guesses based on the text of the Poems themselves, and our datings can be only approximate. In Poem 3, Gregory is presented as a retired prelate; unfortunately, we do not know the date of this retirement.³³ The Emperor, whom Gregory loves so much, has been beset by all kinds of tribulations "for many years" (249), and is in need of Gregory's prayers and of Divine assistance (244-292); that Emperor is a meticulous keeper of oaths (265). The tribulations besetting Andronikos II must be those of the civil war; and when Metochites insists on the Emperor's fidelity to oaths, he may have in mind the mutual accusations of breaking the terms of the truce of 1323 which both sides in the civil war swore to keep inviolate. These mutual accusations, that began soon after 1323, became especially strident in the fall of 1327.³⁴

31 *Hist.*, 1, 226, 11-13 Bonn.

32 For the two four-liners in hexameter on a volume of poems by Gregory of Nazianzos, cf. S. Cyrillus (Cirillo), *Codices Graeci Regiae Bibl. Borbonicae*..., 1 (Naples, 1826), 67-68; for the Epitaph in iambics on the *oikonomos* of Saint Sophia Alexios Kappadokes, cf. E. Miller, *Manuelis Philae carmina inedita*, 2 (Paris 1857, reprint Amsterdam, 1967), 372; for the *Canon* on the Seventh Synod, cf. Sp. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, 2 (Cambridge, 1900), 230, nr. 4962, 5 = 'Ιβήρων 842; for the three letters, cf. Sp. Lampros, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 14 (1917), 342-46; text of the *stichera* in Balasčev, *Kliment episkop*... (as in note 18 above), 4; 8-9. The epigram and letters are certainly by our Gregory; as for the *Canon* and the *stichera*, they are most probably by him.

33 Gabras' letters 103 and 112 to Gregory, ed. Fatouros (as in note 20 above), 165-68 and 183-85, give tantalizing and contradictory clues as to Gregory's whereabouts. On balance, he seems still to be in Ochrid, even if the letters' address is to "the former Archbishop of Bulgaria." Unfortunately, these two letters are difficult to date (before 1319?).

34 Cf. Andronikos III's negotiations with the delegation coming from the old Emperor in Kantakouzenos, *Hist.*, 1, 229, 29-230, 5; 231, 15-17; 231, 24-232, 2; 232, 14 ff; 236, 15-17. In Poem 16, *Parisinus Graecus* 1776, fol. 201v, Metochites deplores the success of people who do not respect oaths: ἀνδρες ἐνίοςτ' ἄλιτροί, ὅρκια μὴ τιμάοντες. Poem 16 is late; but it is not quite sure that Metochites had Andronikos III and his camp in mind; he may have been referring to the Turks as well.

In Poem 4, Metochites refers to his astronomical treatise as to a completed work (it was finished by 1316/17). Gregoras has already made use of this treatise, dealing with "the affairs of the sun, the moon, and the other stars," in his own astronomical calculations (265-66; 277). Gregoras' first major venture in the field of astronomy, his proposed reform of the computing of the date of Easter, was submitted about 1324; if Gregoras' calculations should also have involved eclipses, this might bring us to the time subsequent to Metochites' fall, for the first solar eclipse Gregoras is known to have predicted was that of September 23, 1329 and the first lunar one, that of January 5, 1330.³⁵ However, Metochites is not explicit on this point; moreover, we believe that he was still in power when he was writing Poem 4, for there he claimed (291-93) that numerous people could attest to his prominence, both in affairs and in literary endeavors, and could do it "now." Metochites did refer to the prospect of death twice in Poem 4 (300;331), but he did so as early as his tenth *Speech*, written about 1305. There is no mention of the calamities that have befallen either the author of Poem 4 or his addressee. In sum, we now suggest that Poems 3 and 4 were written in the mid-1320's, perhaps a year or two later, but we cannot be sure.³⁶

Our treatment of accents, breathings and apostrophes in the Poems published here is a compromise between the need to offer a readable text and a desire to give an idea of Metochites' own orthographic practice. Thus we have accentuated enclitics in a conventional way, wrote *ἐρδων* for *ἐρδων* (Poem 4, 162), standardized such cases as *στῦλοι* into *στῦλοι*, *νοῦον* into *νοῦον*, *μούρον* into *μούρον*, and *ἴφι* (the usual spelling in the manuscript) into *ἴφι* (on the strength of the single example of *ἴφι* in Poem 4, 136), and ignored the accents moved backward in elided words of Poem 4 (43: *ισχύρ'*; 150: *Λογίκ'*; 250: *Φυσίκ'*; 329: *ἀγάθ'*). On the other hand, we have kept the fluctuation between *-μεν* and *μεν'* in the epic infinitive endings before vowels, as well as the manuscript's hesitation between *ἄρ'* and *ἄρ* before a vowel and between *ἀν'*, *ἀν* (the standard form), and *ἀν* for *ἀνά*. We also kept *αὐτως* for *αὐτως* (Poem 3, 6 and 169), the iota subscripts in epic dative endings in *-ηφι*, and have left unusual accents untouched, such as *τόλματα* (Poem 3, 40: seemingly a perfect rather than an error for *τολμάται*), *στάθμα* for *σταθμά* (accusative plural, Poem 3, 264) and *ἀποώσας* (2nd person singular, Poem 3, 152), where one would expect *ἀπόωσας*; Homer, less epic than Metochites, has *ἀπῶσας*. Finally, we resisted the conjecture *τ' ἔχνια* for the unusual *τέχνια* in Poem 4, 125.

I. Š.

35 Cf. the excellent monograph by J. Mogenet and A. Tihon, *Barlaam de Seminara, traités sur les éclipses de soleil de 1333 et 1337* (Louvain, 1977), 152-53.

36 We are aware of the fact that our present dating appears to be in conflict with the statement of Gregoras, *History* (309, 8-11 Bonn): Metochites appointed Gregoras as his spiritual heir; this he did both in his letters, and in poems (*ἐπεσιν*) which he wrote "later, in his exile."

fol. 51v

ΕΙΣ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΣΑΝΤΑ
ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΝ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΙΑΣ. Γ.

Γρηγόρι', ἀμφὶ μάλ' εἶραμαι, θεράπον Χριστοῦ,
νῦν ἔπε' ἀδρανέος τάδ' ἄρ' ἀπὸ νοός γ' ἐνέπειν σοι,
φιλτάτα μοι κεφαλῇ, ἡδυεπές, ἀγάτιμε,
σουφίας εἰραστά, τῆς θ' ἀμετέρας τῆς τ' ἐκτός.

5 πάντα γὰρ ἃ κεν ἱμερτὰ γίνατ' ἄνδρεςσι βρουτοῖς
εὖ γε μάλ' ἀπὸ ἔθεν βάλες ἡύτ' ὄναρ, φάσμ' αὐτῶς
ἀνούσιον ἐπισχέμεν, ἥ τε καπνοῦ σκιήν,

fol. 52r

10 ὥς κε παλαιοὶ φαντὶ λόγοι, βίότιο πάντα
πρήγματα μηδενόσωρα δεικνύντες σαόφροσι·
πρόφρων τ' οὐκ ἀέκων φύγες οὐνεκ' ἀνακτος Χριστοῦ,
ὄν πάντων ἀνθεῖλεο, καὶ τε μόνῳ οἱ ζῶεις
ἄτροπος ἀπάντεων, μὴ τεύ νύ τ' ἀλεγίζων
ἃ μέροπας ἐπὶ σφεα ἀνστροφάα μάλα τ' ἴσχει
ἀφύκτοισι πέδησι διαμπερὲς ἀρρήκτοισι.

15 τὰς κε τίς ἂν φύγησιν ἀεθλοφόρος ποδάρκης
κράτει πολὺ μέγ' ἄσχετος, ἡνορέηφι πεποιθώς,
κατ' ἄρ' ἔκασθ' ἅμα ἀήττητος βλεμμεαίνων;
ἅτὰρ τάδε σὺ πάντα παρέδραμες, ὑψός' ὀράων
οὐρανίους ἐς θησαυροὺς θεοῦ πολυδότευο,

20 ἄρρητ', ἀνονόμαστα ἑάων πλήθε' ἂν αἰῶ
πάντα διαρκέα μήποτε παῦλαν ἔχονθ' ὑστάταν·
ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα μόνον ἀέξουσιν παιδείας αἰὲν
κτῆσιν ἀκάματος ἀεθλεύεις ἄσχολον ἦτορ
γλυκερὸν ἀμφιπονέων ἥματα διὰ πάντα.

25 Τοῦνεκα δὴ κάπ' ἐμεῖο λόγων μογήμασι τοῖσδε,
οἷς ἄρ' ἐκάστοτε πάρ τινα συντάττοιμεν χρεῖαν,

fol. 52v

ἀμφικέχυται σεῖο κέαρ ἱφὶ γηθόουσιν
οἷς ὅτι ποῦθός χ' ἡμέας ἴσχει, ὅς νύ σε ἴσχει,
καὶ τ' ἄρ' ἀμφαγαπάζεις τὰμὰ σὺ ἥύτε πατὴρ
30 παιδὸς ἐοῖο παργάννυτ' ἐσθλοῖς τεκέεσσι·
ὅττι κεν ἄρ σοι λοῦγοι φίλτατ' ἔασιν ἀπάντων
καὶ τε λόγων δαμιουργοί, μέτρι' ὅπως ποτ' ἔχοντες
καὶ τι προυτέρας ἴχνε' ἐπιστήμας φέροντες·
ὧν δοκέεις οὐ παντάπασ' ἀλλότρι' ὀρᾶσθαι
35 τὰ κεν ἔμοιγ' ἄρ συντετάχατ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλα
πουνάματα παιδείας κόμμασι πάρ γ' ἑτεροίοις
χαραχθέντα μεθ' ἃ σοφία διατετμήταται,
πολλὰ χ' ὅσα μὴ πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἀολλέα πάντα
ἁμαδὶς εἰς ἓν ἀγαγεῖν εὖ μάλ' ἔκαστ' ἀνύσιμα.

40 'Αλλά γ' ἴσως ὁδ' ἀφειδῆς νῦν τόλμαται λοῦγος

[fol. 51v] 3. TO GREGORY, SOMETIME ARCHBISHOP
OF ALL BULGARIA.

O Gregory, servant of Christ, now I dearly desire to speak these words from my weary mind to you, dearest, eloquent and venerable one, lover of wisdom both sacred and profane. (5) You have cast completely away from yourself all the objects of mortal desire, even as < one does > a mere dream, that phantom without essence, < impossible > to grasp, because it is a shadow of smoke, just as writings of old [Ps 143.4] affirm; which have shown how the things of this world are but vanity to the wise. (10) With what an eager, not an unwilling mind have you fled from the world for the sake of the Lord Christ, Whom you have chosen above all others! You live for Him alone, heedless of aught else: you trouble yourself not with any of those things which divert mortals and hold them in inescapable, utterly unbreakable fetters: (15) from which what fleet-footed champion, confident in strength and irrepressible vigor, so vauntful of his unconquerability in all, may escape? But you have escaped all these things, gazing above at generous God's heavenly treasures, (20) riches unnameable and indescribable in their plenitude, everlasting, unceasing, and without end. With a relentless heart, unwearied, you contend solely for the ever-increasing acquisition of culture, laboring sweetly every day.

[fol. 52v] (25) Therefore greatly is your joyous heart concerned with these literary works of mine, whenever I compose them on account of some need and because a longing seizes me. This longing seizes you too; and you love my works even as a father boasts over (30) noble offspring of his own son: literary works are the dearest of all things unto you, as well as the creators of literary works, even though these works be of modest merit, if only they contain some traces of ancient knowledge. And you deem not to be utterly devoid of these traces (35) the works which I have composed here and there touching all the various branches of culture into which wisdom has been divided. These latter < branches > are numerous, and few are the men able to gather them all together at once so that each of them may be of great use.

(40) Now perhaps this our speech boasts to excess and

- καί τε νεμεσητὰ ἄν' ἐη· ἔρρ' Ἀδράστεια
 ἡδέ γε βάσκανος ἑρρέτω νόος ἡδ' οὐατα.
 ἀλλ', ὃ γ' ἐφάμην, πάντα σὺ ἄσχετος ἐκ μάλα φυγῶν
 45 ὄλβον ἀρίτιμον, ἱερὸν ὕψος, θῶκον ἐκείνον
 fol. 53r κῦδιμον, οἷο κλείος ἀπάντεσσι περίφαντον
 ἀνά γε ἀνδρεσσι βρουτοῖσιν ἀοίδιμον αἰέν,
 δόξαν, ὁπαδοὺς, λαὸν ὑπείκασθοντα πολλόν,
 κυμαίνοντα θέατρα, βασιλῆός τ' ἐρήρα
 50 μάλ' ὁμιλήματα, τὸν μάλα καὐτὸς σὺ γ' ἐράας,
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα μόνος γ' ἀπόπολις ἥσυχ' αἰὼν
 Χριστοῖο προπάροιθεν ὑψιμέδοντος αἰεῖ,
 ὃν γ' ἀλλάξας πάντων, σουφίας ἱμερον ἐμπης
 ἄτροπον αἰὲν ἔχεις. κοῦ λίπες τόνδ' ἄρα ποῦθον
 οὐδέ σέ γ' οὐδὲν πρῆγμα τόνδ' ἀπὸ κείαρ ἄρατο,
 55 ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἐρημίαν ἦν σὺ γ' εἶλεο τάνδ' ἡδύνει,
 τόνδε τε σὺν γ' ἐπίκουρον ἀνά λατρείαν Χριστοῦ
 ἄγεις, μάλα τ' ἀγαθὸν παραφράδμονα ὦν χρῆ
 πὰρ βιότοιο κέλευθον τάνδε φίλῃν Χριστῷ.
 ἀκάματον δὲ σοὶ γε σπούδασμ' ἀμφοτέρ' εἰσί,
 60 πρόσκτησις σοφίας λατρεία τ' αἰεὶ θεοῖο,
 ὦ μακάριε σὺ γ', ὠνθρῶπε τῶνδ' ἀμφοτεράων,
 ὃς κ' ἔρας' αὐτῶν, ὃς κ' ἐράων εἴτ' οὐκ ἀτευκτεῖς,
 ἀλλά τε πολλὸν αἰεὶ προβιβάεις ἐκάτερθεν αὐτός·
 ἡμὲν ἀρετὰν ἔς γ' ὅτι περ πλεῖν εὖ μάλα ἀνύτων
 fol. 53v καὶ τ' ἀμοιβαδὸν ἄγχι πρόσθεν ἰὼν θεοῖο,
 ἡδέ τ' ἀέξων κτήσιος αἰεὶ ἡμετέρης λούγων
 παιδείας τε πάσης τῆς θ' ἡμετέρας τῆς τ' ἐκτός,
 ὅτι κεν αὐτὸν κἀνθεῦτεν ἔπειτ' ὀνίναιτ' ἂν τις,
 70 ῥήσις· εὐπετέως ἂν ὁδὸν θεωρίας ὄντως
 δὴ μάλ' ἰὼν ἀπρόσκοπος, ἀτειρής, δοῦγματα
 πάντα θεοῖο ἀνακτος πίστιος ἀγνωστάτας,
 ἥτε δὴ καὶ προὔτερον ἀνδρες μάκαρες ἄλλοι
 κάρτ' ἄρ' ἐκείνοι ἡγεμονῆες δὴ περιφάμοι
 θειοσεβίης Χριστοῦ καὶ τ' ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ
 75 στῦλοι ἥτε θείμεθλ' ἀρραγέα πάντ' αἰῶ.

- Τοῖς μὲν ἄρ' αὐτός, θεῖ' ἄνερ, εἰκάθων σέ γ' αὐτόν,
 πὰρ τ' ἀρετὴν πὰρ τ' αὐτὸν ἐπιπούθησιν σουφίης,
 πρῶτατον ἔργον τίθει λατρείαν θεοῖο·
 80 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα δευτέρᾳ σοὶ φρουντίσματα λούγοι
 καὶ τ' ἀμφ' ἄσχυλος αἰεὶ τοῖσι μέμηλας πουνῶν,
 ἡματα πάντα τρίβων κάματον ἡμερόντα.
 κοῦτις ἐτάζων Γρηγορίοιο πόνοους ὄψαιτ' ἂν
 ἄλλους ἢ κεν ἀοιδὰς ἱκεσίους τε θεοῖο
 fol. 54r ὕμνους κοινῇ τ' ἰδίᾳ τ' αὐτὸν μονόεντας, ἀόχλους,

may even be reproachable; but away with envy! And away with malicious minds and ears, too! Even as I have said, relentlessly you have fled away from everything: from illustrious fortune, from the sacred height of that splendid See of yours, (45) whose renown is conspicuous among all and forever celebrated by mortals, from glory, from companions, from the obedient throng, from overflowing audiences, and from trusting conversations with the Emperor whom you love. (50) And thereafter have you lived alone without the City in quiet, forever in the presence of Christ the lofty Ruler for Whom you have exchanged everything, and have kept your constant desire for wisdom. You have not lost this longing, nor has any matter taken it from your heart; (55) it sweetens this wilderness which you have chosen, and you bring it as a helpmate in the worship of Christ, and as a good councillor of the things necessary in this way of life dear to Christ. Wearilessly you pursue both these things: (60) the acquisition of wisdom and the continual worship of God, O blessed one, man of both these occupations, who love them, who desire them and fail not in gaining them. You make great strides in both: you achieve utmost virtue in aught you do (65) and in turn draw nigh unto God, whilst always increasing that part of the lovely acquisition of literature and of all culture, both sacred and profane, from which everyone may profit with the greatest ease. Thus you swiftly move along the road of contemplating all the doctrines of the faith most pure of the Lord God, (70) unwearied and without stumbling, even as < did > those other blessed men of old, those famed leaders of the worship of Christ (75) and pillars of His Church, unshakable foundations forever.

Whilst committing yourself to these things, O divine man, to the pursuit of virtue and to the craving for wisdom, you have set forth as your first task the worship of God. Then, <only> in the second place, come your studies of literary works; (80) and relentlessly have you taken care for these, spending every day in lovely toil. No one upon examining the efforts of Gregory would see aught but songs and supplicatory hymns to God both public and private, solitary and quiet,

- 85 γλυκερὰ μάλ' ἐρίηρ' ὁμιλήματα τέρποντα κῆρ
 ἡδονὰν ἀφατον, ἦν αὐτός γ' οἶδας καὶ θ' οἱ περ
 κατ' ἄρ ὥς κε σὺ πείранται· ἀλλήλοιν μάρτυροι
 ὅμμες δ' ἐστέ, βέβηλοι δ' ἡμέες ἀμφὶ πύλας δι
 κλειμένας ἔσταμεν ἔξω, φάντασμ' ἀνστρέφοντες,
 90 πλάνον ἀνήνυτον εἰν νῶ ἡδονᾶς οὐνεχ' ἡμείων.
 ἦτοι τάδε μέν, ὥς ἐφάμην, τελέθει μερόπεσσιν·
 ἡμὲν ὅσοι κατ' ἄρα σέ γ' ἀτρεκέως ἡδονται
 ἀγνοτάταν διαμπερὲς ἡδονὰν ἀμιγέα τε
 95 πάμπαν διζύος ἀπάντων τ' ἐπειτ' ἀλεγεινῶν,
 ἡδέ θ' ὅσοι κόσμον τόνδ' ἀνστροφέονθ' ὕλης τε
 βένθεσι πουλυπλάγκτοισί τε παλιρροίησι
 μᾶψ φορέοντ' ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθ' ἀχέεσσι πουλλοῖς
 ξύμμιγα τειρόμενοι κοῦδέν γ' ἐλεύθερον οἶον,
 100 ἄκρατον ἡδονᾶς ἀμπνύντές τ' ἀνὰ βίῳ τοιο
 τοῦδε κέλευθον, ἐνίοτε μάλ' εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν
 ἔμμεν' ἐνιοι κρινόμενοι ῥοήμασι τύχης
 πουλυδότιδος ἑάων, ἀρίτιμοι, πουλυκλαεῖς,
 fol. 54v καὶ τε πουλύολβοι, καθάπαξ ἡδεσθ' ἀφορμὰς
 πουλλὰς ἔχειν δοκέοντες οἷς ὁράοντ' ἐπιπουλῆς·
 105 αὐτοί γ' ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δειλάμονές τ' ἄθλιοι,
 μάλ' ἐπιδευεῖς οἴκτου, δακρυόφιν ἄξιοι,
 ἥύτε τάφοι τά γ' ἔξω πολύκοσμοι, λαμπροί,
 εὐπρεπέες γ' ὅσοισιν, ἀτὰρ, ὅς ἀνοίγνυσι, πολλῆς
 ἐνδον ἀηδίας αὐτοὶ πλήρεις σήψιος ὁδμῆς
 110 ἢ κεν ἀθρόον αὐτόθεν ἀντιάατ' ἀνύποιστος.

- Τοῖα γ' ἔασ' ἀνθρώποις πολλοῖσι δοκέοντα
 πρήγματα μακάρια πολὺ γ' εἰρατά, πουλύζηλα,
 τὰ δ' ἀμέας ἀχθηδόσι δάμνει συνεχέεσσι
 ἦτορ αἰεὶ καὶ τ' ὀλλυσι γηθοσύναν ἄρ' ἀπασαν·
 115 ἀλλὰ σὺ γ', ἄνερ ἀριστε, θεοῖο θεράπων Χριστοῦ
 ἐκ τε φυγῶν ἔριδος καὶ φθούνων ἐκ τε κυδοιμοῦ
 ἐκ τ' αὐ δόξης, ἣ νύ τ' ἀμφοδίην κρύφα τε
 φυλόπιδος πτερόεντες ἐπιτοξάζοντ' οἷστοί,
 ἐκ τ' ἰαχῆς ἐκ θ' ἡδονᾶς ἀμυδὶς ἐκ θ' ἀπάντων,
 120 τόνδε μονήεντα βίον εἴλεο, νηνεμόεντα
 εἰν πάσῃσιν ἐριγδούποισι νύ τ' ἀέλλῃσιν,
 fol. 55r οἷδμασιν ἄρ χεῖμασί τε ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης
 τοῦδε πολυφλοίσβοιο βιότοιο στονόεντος,
 εὐδιδόντά τ' ἀστυφέλικτον ἔτ' εὐξύμβλητον,
 125 παντάπασιν ἄνοσον, γαλήνιον, ἴλαον κῆρ
 ἰσάντ', ἄτροπον αἰὲν ἀέξον δὴν νοάμασιν
 οὐρανίοισι, μετὰ θεὸν ψυχὰν ἀναείρουσιν,
 ὑψιπετῇ, ἀπρόσκοπον ὕλης βριθοσύνησιν,

(85) as well as sweet and lovely sermons [?] which gladden the heart with ineffable delight, whereof you know yourself, as well as those, like you, who have experienced them. Thereof you are witnesses to one another; but we profane ones stand without closed doors, turning fantasies (90) and useless wanderings in our minds for our pleasure's sake. Indeed, as I < just > have said, the following happens with mortals: there are some, like you, who revel in the purest delights, untainted by grief or by any other troublesome thing whatsoever; (95) and there are others who go about in this world and are dashed meaninglessly hither and thither by manifold griefs and aimlessly wander through the depths of matter and are carried along by it, as it swells back and forth. They are beset by all manner of woes, nor breathe they anything free, any pure joy, < as they pass > along (100) the path of this life, though some of them be considered blessed by the currents of generous Fortune. Unto them who observe these men on the surface, they appear to be venerable and glorious and fortunate and to have a great many reasons to rejoice; (105) yet within themselves they are miserable and wretched, they need pity, they deserve tears: even as tombs, they are splendid and pleasing to the eye from without, but within, if one open them, they are full of disgusting matter, of foul (110) and insufferable reek which overcomes one forthwith.

[fol. 54v]

Such are the matters which unto many men appear to be felicitous and are greatly striven after, but which beset our hearts always with continuous griefs and destroy all rejoicing. (115) But you, O best of men, servant of Christ our God, you have fled away from strife, from jealousies, from tumult, and even from glory at which both patent-ly and secretly the speeding arrows of strife are aimed; away from the war-cry, from pleasure, from everything altogether. (120) You have chosen this solitary life which remains calm in the midst of all the loud-roaring storms and swells and tempests of the barren sea of this turbulent life full of mourning; your life enjoys fair weather, it is unshaken, well-settled, (125) unplagued by aught and serene; it makes the heart bright and for ever and ever increasing in heavenly thoughts which exalt the soul unto God, that soul which soars on high unhind-

[fol. 55f]

- αἱ κεν ἐπειγομέναν αἰ παρκλάουσ' αὐταί,
 130 ἐς βυθὸν ἔσθ' ὅτε ῥιπτοῦσι ταρταρόντα
 κατὰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχραναν ἀνὰ τέλμασι βορβόροιο
 σύνοχα πιλναμένην ἀεικελίησιν, ἄμυρπον,
 αἰσχίον' οὐράαν, οὐδὲν ἐλεύθερον ἀμπνεύουσιν.
- Ἄλλ' ἄρα σύ, βέλτιστ' ἀνδρῶν, σαόφρονι νοῦφ
 135 ῥεῖ' ἀτὰρ ἤπειτ' ἀφέλεο ψυχὰν ἀρίτιμον
 τὴν σὴν τῆσδ' ἀπὸ παντοίας κακότητος ἄνουςον,
 τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῆς ἑοικότε' ἀνετον ἀμπονέουσιν,
 κάρτα σὺν ἡδονᾷ βίοντον ἱμερόεντ' ἀνύτουσαν,
 140 εὐ γ' ἀπέλαστον ἀπάντεων ἀλεγεινῶν, τὰ κεν
 εἰν βιότοιο πέδῃσιν ἀνάφυρται μάλα πολλὰ·
 fol. 55v τῶν κάποτετείχισ', ἄσχετος ἀμβιώσκων
 ὥς κέ τις ἀτρεκέως αὐτοκράτωρ ἑωυτοῦ,
 ἀμφιέπων μονόεσσαν τάνδ' αὐλειον, ἱμερτήν,
 ἄβατον ἐχθίστοισιν ἄπασι, μόνην σέο βατήν,
 145 ἀγνοτάταν ἰδιάζουσιν περικαλλέα μουνάν·
 τήνδ' ἄρ' ἀπόπροθι πούλιος ἀνακτος μέγαλοιο
 μάλ' ἀσπάσιος ἀντιλαβὼν, μάλα ποθεινός,
 οἰκέων πάντων ἀδεῆς ὧν πᾶσι χρεῖω
 ἀνθρώπων τ' ἀνθρωπείων τε πρηγμάτων μᾶψ
 150 καὶ θ' οἷς πάντες ἕκαστοι μάλα κεν ἴσχοντ' ἔμπης.
 ἀλλὰ σέ γ' οὐτις ἰκάνει χρεῖω ὅτι κεν ἅμα
 πάντ' ἀποώσας ἑωυτοῦ κοῦτινος ἴσχεο τῶν περ
 ἄλλοισι δέεται καὶ σφιν μάλα τῶνδ' ἔα πουθή.
 ἄρκιος ἦσθα γάρ οἱ θ' αὐτῷ πάνθ' ἡματα μούνος,
 155 οὐχ' ὁπαόνων σὺ γὰρ δεῦεο, οὐ θεραπόντων,
 οὐτ' ἄρ' ἐδητύος ἀμφιπόλοιο οὐδὲ ποτῆτος,
 οὐ κτεάτεσσι μέμηλας, οὐκ ἀρόσεσσι βουῶν,
 οὐτ' ἄρ' οἶνοπέδῃσι μέθυ βλυάουσιν ἀγανόν,
 οὔτε βοτοῖσιν ἔπειτ' οὐδ' ἱποτρουφίησιν,
 fol. 56r οὐ καθάπαξ ἄπανθ' ὅσ' ἀναστροφάονται βρουτοὶ
 φροντίδα σεῖο φέρονται δὴ τινα πουλυμέριμνον·
 ζῶεις δ' ἡὗτ' ἀνέστιον, ἄσχετον πετεινὸν
 κοῦφον, ἀνενδεές, ὥς τύχε βιόν, ἀφροῦντιστον,
 ἀμπνεῖόν κεν ἐλεύθερον ἡέρα γλυκερὸν αἰέν,
 165 αὐτοδίδακτον ἐοῖο χρήσιος αὐταρκεΐης
 καὶ τ' ἀλεγίζον ἄρ' οὐδὲν ἐπίτηδες πρήγματα
 ἀμφὶ τε βίοντον ἀδινὰ πολλὰ μηχανεύματα,
 ζῶᾱς ἐπιτεχνάματα πινυτὰ πουλύστρουφα.
 ὥς δ' αὐτως ζῶεις σύ γε κατ' ἴσον, ἀποίητος
 170 πὰρ βιότοιο μεριμνάματα παντοῖ' ἕκαστα
 ἄσκευός τ' ἀνὰ πᾶσαν χρεῖαν, ὥς τύχεν ἔσθων
 ἡδέ τε πίνων ὥς τύχεν, ὥς κεν ὀλιγόχρειον

ered by the weight of matter; < still >, the latter always diverts the soul though it strive < upward >, (130) and sometimes casts it into the abyss of Tartarus and befouls it as it wallows in the slime of the mire and becomes disfigured, too shameful to behold, and breathes nothing free.

[fol. 55v] But you, O best of men, have with a prudent mind (135) easily withdrawn your venerable soul from all wickedness, unscathed, as it labours without strife upon the things appropriate to itself and greatly enjoys a serene existence, having completely cast away all the many griefs which (140) are entwined in the fetters of this life. From these you have walled yourself off, living unconstrained, even as one who is wholly his own master, dwelling in this solitary abode, the lovely (145) and most holy and remote and all-beautiful monastery, trodden only by your foot and inaccessible to all enemies. With great welcome and longing did you receive this place away from the City from [?] the great ruler, and it you inhabit, careless of the things of which all have need: of men and the foolish things of men (150) to which each and every one of them clings. You are beset by no need, for you have thrust away everything from yourself and cling to naught of the things which others crave, and for which they have great longing. You have been sufficient unto yourself every day, (155) and have not required companions or attendants or a server of food or drink; nor have you bothered about estates or plowings with oxen, or vineyards gushing forth with smooth wine, or about grazing beasts or, moreover, horse-breeding; (160) nor, [fol. 56r] once and for all, do as many of the things which mortals strive after stir any of your careful thoughts. You live even as an unrestrained, flitting bird without fixed abode, that lives in just any manner without wants or cares, breathes free and sweet air always, (165) is self-taught in its independent existence and purposely disregards the many and abundant devices of livelihood, those clever and complicated contrivances of life. Even so, too, do you live: in good measure, unconcerned (170) about all the many cares of this life and unheedful of any need, eating just anything and drinking just anything, as little as is necessary [?], since you think

παντ' ἄρα μαγκανεύματ' ἐδητύος ἡδὲ ποτήτος,
 175 εἰτώσια διαμπερὲς ἀμφὶ μηδὲν ὕγιες
 φρουντίσματα δοκεύμενος, ἐξ ἄρ' ἀπειροκάλοιο
 νουὸς ἀεθλεύοντος ἀβέλτερα, μάψ, ἀλόγιστα,
 fol. 56v ἐνθ' ὀλίγη πέλετ' ἀναγκαίη· καὶ τ' ἄρ' ἄμεινον
 180 ὅς κεν, ὀλιγώρως τωνδὶ βιόων, νόον αἰὲν
 ὑπόσ' ἄνω φέρετ' ἄσχυλον, ἀπαλλάξας ἐνθεν,
 τὰ φέρετ' ἄλλως δὴ πολυύπλανα παρόραων,
 καὶ θ' ἄμέας ὁράων ἀκύρια τολυπεύοντας
 ψάμμαθον ἀνά τέ γ' ἰδρύοντας δουμήματα,
 185 ῥεῖ' ἀνέμων παίγνια μεταβάλλοντ' ἐς φθοῦρον
 εὔτε δοκεῖσι πεπῆχθαι, πιπτάοντ' αὐτόθεν ὦκα
 διὰ δ' ἀήτησι πᾶσι στροφαλιζόμεν' αἴψα,
 μήποτε' ἄρ' ἐσταότ' ἄτροπά τ' ἔμπεδα διαρκοῦντα
 παρ βραχύ τι μέγεθος χρόνου καθάπαξ ἄσειστα,
 παλιρροίησι δ' ἄναντα κάταντα δι' αἰῶ
 πάντα φέροντα πολύστροφ', ἀνίδρυτα, ἀμφίδρουμα·
 190 τί μὲν ἂπ' ἄρα τῶνδ' ἐπὶ θάτερα, τί δ' ἔμπαλιν
 ἂπ' ἄρ' ἐκείνων ἀμφὶ τὰ καὶ τε διαμπερὲς ἄντα.

Τάδε τε σύ γ' ἀπὸ τῆσδ' ὑψηλῆς σκουπιωρῆς,
 τῆσδε μονᾶς, ἦν οἰκεῖν εἴλεο, καταδέδορκας
 195 πάντα μάλ' ἐξεῖης ἀμοιβαδὸν οὐποθ' ὁμοῖα
 πολυύπλανα δ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἀντιόοντα·
 μήποτε' ἄρα σύ γε καὶ τάδε γ' ἀντιροήματα πόντου
 fol. 57r Βοσπορείοιο στεινοτάτου, παρ δὲν ἀμφάκτιος
 200 ἦδε μονὰ τὴν ἀμφαγαπάζεις ναιεῖν αὐτός,
 ἀμφοράων, διδάγμαθ' ὑπόμνησίν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα
 λαμβάνεις ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀνὰ νόον ἀμφεικάζων
 τοῖσδε τὰ κεν βιότοιο πέφυκ' ἀνίδρυτα τοῦδε
 παλίνρorsa ροήματα ῥεῖ' ἀντίστροφα πάντα,
 νῦν μὲν ἰόντ' ἰθὺ κάρτ' ἐσσύμενα, πολυύδρουμα
 ἀμφ' ἄρα τήνδ' ὑγρὰν βιότοιο θάλασσαν, οὐδὲν
 205 πιστὸν ἔχοισαν ἐπίμονον εἰδρασμα βεβηκός,
 νῦν δ' ἄφαρ ἀντία κυμαίνοντ' ἀνόιστ', ἐκπαγλα;
 τήνδε γ' ἴσως μάλ' ἐπίφρονα διδοίη σοι γνῶμαν
 τὰ κεν ὁράας ἀντία Βοσπόροιο ῥέεθρα
 τάδε, διαμπερὲς πλανώμεν' ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα,
 210 ταυτὸ τόδ' αἰὲν ἔχοντα τᾶστατον, ὥς ὁδε κόσμος,
 οὐ μόνον ἐντὶ βέβαιον τᾶστατον, οὐποτε παῦλαν
 τιν' ἔχον, αἰὲ δ' ἄτροπον εἶν βίῳ τροπαλίζον.

Ἦτοι τάδε μὲν ἂν' ἄρα ἀνδρεσσι βρουτοῖσιν
 215 ὥς ἄρ' ἔχει· ἀτὰρ αὐτὸς ὁράων ἰδί' ἕκαστα,
 ἀμβιόων μόνος ἔξω πρηγμάτων ἀπάντων

[fol. 56v]

all concoctions of food and drink to be vain thoughts about utterly unhealthy things, (175) the products of a mind ignorant of good, a mind that strives after things foolish, silly and irrational, whereof there is little need. Better is the life of him who disregards these things and soars on high with a mind free from cares, having betaken himself thence, (180) paying no heed to things which wander about aimlessly and at random, whilst he beholds us men who busy ourselves about ineffectual matters as we build our houses upon the sand. These are but trifling playthings of the winds and suffer ruin even when they appear to stand fast; they swiftly collapse forthwith (185) and are overturned by all manner of gales; they never stand unturned or endure, nor remain they completely steadfast for even a short span of time: they are utterly unsteady and by the flowings upwards and downwards are they all forever borne about, these twisting, unsettled things which turn about in all directions: (190) some < move > from this point to that, some from another to the very opposite.

[fol. 57r]

From this lofty lookout, this monastery which you have chosen to inhabit, you have perceived all these things one after another: they are never the same, (195) always in a state of random movement, always contradicting one another. Perhaps, when you observe the swells of the waters of the narrow Bosphorus, upon whose bank lies this monastery wherein you love to dwell, you therefrom (200) take a lesson and reminder, and in your mind compare these swells with the unsettled currents of this life: churning, turbulent waves they are, all of them, now rushing straightforward with rapid force along this watery sea of life which (205) has nothing reliable < in itself >, no firm hold; and now again swelling up in the other direction, unexpectedly and astoundingly. Perhaps you may obtain this wise insight from these currents of the Bosphorus, wandering back and forth, (210) which always have the same inconstancy; even as the world, wherein the only sure thing is inconstancy which has no pause and unchangingly changes in the course of human existence.

So stand these matters with mortal men. But you (215) live alone, observing all by yourself; and removed

- fol. 57v νοῦον ἀπαντ' ἀνάγεις προπάροιθε θεοῖο Χριστοῦ
 φύζαν ἐκούσιον ἐξ ἄρα πάντων ἀστυφελικτον
 220 πουθῶν, παρτρεχόντων ἄσχεθ' ἀμέας αἰεῖ,
 ἐμπεδον οὐδὲν ἔχόντων ᾧ νόος εἰρῆσαιτο,
 ἀλλά γε νωλεμές ἀλλαγὴν τινα μυρίαν ἄφαρ
 ἐκ τοῦδ' εἰς τόδ' ἐναλλάξ, ρεῖά τε παρτροπαόντων,
 225 κούδενι σὺν κόσμῳ τε λόγῳ τε. σὺ δ' ἐμφρονα λεύσων
 καὶ θ' ἅμα ἡδύτατα βιώεις ἐρικυδέϊ τῇδε
 μουνᾷ, ἀμφιέπων Μιχαὴλ πρωτοστατέοντα
 230 πάντων ἄγγελον οἱ πολυάριθμοι περ ἔασιν,
 οὐ περ ἐπώνυμός ἐντί γ' ἢ μονὰ πουλυκλειῆς
 ἦδε μάλα τ' ἐρατεινὴ, γλυκερὸν ἀμφὶ ἐμοῦνον
 καὶ λεύσειν ἀδύτατον δρᾶμα θυμευτερπές τε·
 235 θάμβος ἔχει πολὺ ἡδονά τ' ἄφατος, ὃς κ' ἐξωθεν
 παρπλόον ἀμφορά· αὐτὴν· ἅμα μὲν μέγεθός τε—
 ἡ τό κε παρτέταται μέγα—ἅμα θ' ὦραν ἀγανὴν·
 ἀγνώμων, ἀνέραστος ἀγαθῶν ῥα πέλετ' ἀνὴρ
 240 ὃς κε δεδορκῶς οὐκ ἄρ' ἐπειτα γ' αὐτόθεν ἦτορ
 ἐκχέεται γ' ἀττάλλων ἡδέ τε μνήμαν ὁσίαν
 235 ἴσχει θειοτερπέα τ' αὖ νυγμὸν καρδίης
 fol. 58r ἀνά τ' ἀείροντα πόθον ὑψιμέδοντος ἀνακτος
 Χριστοῦ, ὃς κεν ἡμερτὸν ἀπάντων ἔστ' ἔσχατον·
 ὃς κεν σεῖο μάλ' ἦψατο κείαρ, ἔσω φλόγ' ἔρωτος
 240 ἀμφὶ ἐθεσπιδαέος παφλάζοντος πολλὸν
 240 κείας, ἀνωθι καταπνείων αὔρας ψυχῇσιν
 εὖ γ' ἐπαϊούσαις ἰλαράς, εὐηνέας ἴφι·
 τάων καὶ σὺ πεπείρασ' εἰ καὶ τις ὅτε γ' ἄλλος
 προύτερον ἡέ τε καὶ νέον ἀμφὶ θεόν γ' ἐπνεύσας.

 245 'Αλλ' Ἰλαὸν γ' Ἰλαον σὺ φιλάτῳ βασιλεῖ
 πρευμενέα τε λίτευσέ μάλ' εἶναι Χριστὸν ἀνακτα,
 ὃν γ' ἐπὶ πολλὰ μάλα βριάουσ' ἀλεγεινὰ τά κεν
 πάντοθεν ἡματα πάντα συνεχέ' ἀλλήλοισιν
 250 τεύρουσ' ἐξῆς κατὰ δὲ κόπτουσ' ἀχνύμενον κῆρ
 νωλεμές εἶτεα πόλλ' ἀμοιβαδὸν ἄλλ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις·
 τὰ μὲν ἄρ' ὡς ἀνόιστά τ' ἀνύποιστά τ' ἀτεχνῶς
 κατ' ἄρα οἱ δάμνησι κέαρ, ὃ δέ τ' ἐμπεδον αἰεῖ
 ἂν θεὸν ἄνω μοῦνον ὁράα, πᾶσαν ἐλπωρὴν
 250 κεῖθεν ἀναψάμενος κάλεωρὴν μὴ τιν' ἄλλην
 προσδοκᾶν, ἀπαλλαξείουσιν ἀπὸ οἴο
 fol. 58v πάντ' ἀνιρὰ θυμαλγέα τήκοντα κραδίην
 αἰεὶ παρ φλόγα δὴ μαλεροῖο πυρός γ' ὀδυνάων,
 ἢ μόνον αὐτὸν δῆτ' ἔλεόν τ' οἰκτόν τε θεοῖο
 ᾧ φύσις ἔστ' οἰκτειρέμεν ἡδέ τε ρύεσθ' ἄφαρ
 250 τειρομένους μέροπας ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τ' ἀλεγεινῶν

[fol. 57v] from all worldly concerns, you devote your whole mind unto Christ our God, seeking voluntary refuge, undisturbed by any of the things which constantly overtake us, things which have nothing firm in them whereupon one's mind may rest, (220) but rather < display > a multitude of constant changes from one state to another in turn, easily misleading us, with no order or reason. As for yourself, you contemplate things wisely and sweetly as you dwell in this glorious monastery, and serve Michael, the chiefest (225) among all the angels—their number is countless—from whom this famed and lovely monastery derives its name. It is a sweet and most delightful sight to gaze upon in itself [?], bringing joy to the mind; and he who beholds the monastery whilst sailing past (230) is seized with great wonder and ineffable delight at both its magnitude—for its expanse is great—and its peaceful beauty. Insensible and wanting of love and good things is he who has beheld the monastery and not forthwith poured forth his heart in rejoicing, (235) and has not been possessed of a holy remembrance, a pricking of the heart pleasing unto God and an uplifting longing for Christ the Lord and lofty Ruler, Who is the ultimate desire of all < men >. It was He Who inflamed your heart and lighted the inward flame of love for Him, that great and mightily burning flame; (240) and all the while from on high He breathes bright, favourable breezes into souls that hearken unto Him; of these you have had experience as no one else of any time, of old or of late, who has made a vow unto God.

[fol. 58r]

But pray you (245) that the Lord Christ be merciful, yes, merciful, and well-disposed toward your dearest Emperor, who is overwhelmed by many griefs which every day everywhere, one after the other in turn have continually for many years cruelly beset and eaten away his grieving heart. (250) Thus indeed do these unexpected and insufferable evils oppress the Emperor's heart; but he looks up always to God alone, deriving all hope from Him, nor does he expect any other shelter to deliver him from (255) all the troubles and griefs which forever melt his heart in the flames of a roaring fire of pains, save only for the mercy and pity of God. It is His nature to take pity and to deliver wearied mortals from

[fol. 58v]

- 260 ἔκ τε πάσης κακότητος ἔκ τ' ἀνιερῶν πουλλῶν
καί τε μάλ' οὐς ἄδικ' εὐσεβέας δάμνησι λυγρὰ
ἦντ' ἐμὸν βασιλῆα θεόφρονα, φίλον καλοῦ,
πραϋθυμον φίλον ἀληθείης, πρόσθ' ὀφθαλμῶν
265 αἰὲν ὄπιν ἔχοντα θεοῖο, δίκης τε στάθμα,
πουλυμέριμνον ἐς ὀρκῶν ἀσφαλέα τήρησιν,
φίλοικτον δ' ὀδύνῃσι μογεῖουσι βρουτοῖσι,
συμπαθέα μάλα, συναλγοῦντα πασχόντεσσι.
τῷ γ' ἄρα καὶ σύ γε τὸν φιλέεις πολὺ, βέλτιστ' ἀνδρῶν,
270 ὅτι νυ μάλ' ἐπέοικε φιλέειν τόν, τοῖον ἐόντα,
τοῖον ἄρ ὥς κε σύ, κοινὸς ἐπεὶ βίος ἀμφοτέροισιν
ἀμφ' ἀρετὴν πέλετ' ἀμφὶ τε πάντ' ἀγαθὰ βρούτεια.
τοῦνεκα πρὸς σέο δῆτ' ἂν ἔη λίτεσθαι Χριστὸν
ἀποερύκειν σφεῖ' ἀλεγεινὰ πολυτειρέ' ἄγαν,
fol. 59r σεῖο δέ γε πρόμον ἂν λιτάων θεὸν Ἰσχε' ἀνακτα
275 ἄγγελον ἄρ πρῶτατον, ἔτ' ἄλλων οὐμοῖων
ἄγγέλων νόων Μιχαὴλ ἡγήτορα δῖον,
ὃ γε παραμέμονας φίλος ἱκέτης ἐρατεινὸς
νηὸν ἀγακλυτὸν οἶο ῥὰ τόνδε σύ γ' ἀμφιπολεύων
ἀρίτιμον μετὰ πάντεσσιν ἑτέροισι νηοῖς,
280 τοί κεν ἀνὰ μεγαλόπτολιν ἢ μάλ' ἔασι τήνδε
πουλλοὶ παλαιοὶ τε νέοι περικαλλέες ἰδεῖν,
πάσῃσι χαρίτεσσιν ἀγανοί, θῶμα λεύσειν.

- Τὸν μὲν ἄρ αὐτὸν ἀγῆτορα Μιχαὴλ ἄνωθι
ἄπαυστα λιτέοντα πρόσθεν ἀνακτος Χριστοῦ
285 βάλλεο, πᾶσαν ἀποέργειν βασιλῆος ἐμεῖο
λυγρὰν διζύν, ἀπειρέσιά τ' ἀργαλέα δεινά,
τά κε διαμπερὲς ἀχνυμένοιο κέαρ οἱ δάμνει.
τοῦνεκα δὴ πρόθυμος σύ γε μάλ' ἀρηγέμεν' αὐτῷ
ἱκεσίῃσ' ἀμφὶ θεόν, ἰδιά τ' αὐ κοινὰ τε
290 πρήγμαθ' ὅπως ἐς ἀμεινον ἀμειψαῖαθ' ἀμαδῖς,
ἡδύνας αὐτοῖο κραδίην πουλύτλαον ὥκα
πάντα τ' ἀπὸ σφεο λευγαλέα λύσας, ὄφρα κ' ἔπειτα
fol. 59v κἀνθεῦτ' ἄρ' ἐπίδηλον ἔη μὴ τι μάλα πόρρω
λήθεσθαι θεὸν ὥστε τίειν θεράποντας ἐοῖο
295 τοῖς κεν ὑπὲρ δίκαν ἀντιάσειεν ἄφαρ ἀνιερὰ,
καί τε μάλισθ' ὅταν ἀμφ' ἄρα πουλλοῖσι κιχάνει
λοιγὸς ἀνὰ τ' ἄρ νυθ' ὕβριν κακὴ κλειὸς τε·
ἀλλὰ τε τάχα μάλ' αὐτόθεν εἰσι δίκαι θεοῖο
ἐνδίκαι κυδαίνουσ' ἀνὰ τ' αἰέρουσα προῦσθεν
300 ἢ ἐπάρως γ' ἔχον ὄσσοι δὴ πείραντ' ἀνιερῶν,
τοῖσι δ' ἀλιτροῖς λυγρὰ μεθύστερον ἄντατο πουλλά.

Τοιγὰρ ἐννεύς χ' ἄμιν ἐσοιτό γε σῆσι λιταῖσι
Χριστὸς ἀναξ, λευγαλέα τηλόθι πάντ' ἀποώσας.

(260) all evil, and from many troubles, especially those miseries which unjustly oppress pious men like my godly-minded Emperor, the friend of good, the meek-spirited lover of Truth, he who has the veneration of God always in his sight, the scales of justice, (265) the scrupulous and sound keeping of oaths; he feels pity for mortals beset by woes, he is compassionate, and shares the grief of them which suffer. Therefore do you love him much, O best of men, for it is fitting to love such a one as he, (270) one such as yourself: you have a common way of life, both in virtue and with respect to all earthly goods. Thus would it behoove you to beseech Christ to ward off the Emperor's overwhelming griefs. And in your prayers unto the Lord God have as your champion (275) the chiefest angel Michael, he who is also the divine leader of the other angelic spirits like himself, he whose dearly beloved suppliant you have remained whilst tending this glorious temple of his, venerable along with all the other numerous temples (280) in this great city, both ancient and new: beautiful to behold are they, delightful in their many charms, marvels to gaze upon.

[fol. 59v]

Send you this leader Michael himself to make entreaty constantly on high before the Lord Christ, (285) that He ward off from my Emperor all baneful grief and all the countless, dreadful woes which constantly oppress his grieving heart. Therefore eagerly help him through your supplications unto God, that the Emperor's public and private (290) affairs may altogether change for the better, having swiftly brought joy to his weary heart and having delivered him from all mischiefs; that, for the time to come, it may be manifest also from this case that God is nigh and that he requites His servants (295) who have had experience of evils beyond their deserts, especially when ruin befalls the many and evil obtains licence and glory. But the justice of God comes forthwith, it extolls righteousness and exalts (300) to their former station all them which have tasted of woes, and the wicked it later requites with many evils.

Through your prayers may the Lord Christ be well-disposed unto us in this matter and thrust all mischiefs far away.

fol. 59v Δ. ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΣΟΦΟΝ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΑΝ
ΥΠΟΘΗΚΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΟΙΚΕΙΩΝ ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ

Φίλα Νικηφόρε μοι κεφαλά, τὸν ἐγὼγ' εἶραμαι
κατ' ἄρ ἐμᾶς σοφίης, ἥτις ποτ' ἂν ἔη, λιπέσθαι
ἐξ ἄρα διάδοχον, πάντων ἀσύλου κλήροιο
κρέσσονος ὧν ἄρ μοι θεὸς ἀπάντων πόρε πουλλῶν,
5 σοὶ τὰδ' ἐπιτάγματα ἐπιτέλλομ' εἰν ἐπέεσσιν,
fol. 60r ἡὺτ' ἔθος μερόπεσσι βρουτοῖσι πέλεθ' ἡμῖν
εἰν διαθήκαις τὰ κε δοκεῦμεν ἀμείνω τέκνοις
παρτιθέεσθ' ἐξείης ἂν βίοτον ἅπαντα
μάλα φυλαττέμεν ὥς κε διατετάχαθ' ἕκαστα.
10 σοὶ γοῦν τὰδ' ἐπιτέλλομ' ἃ μοι δοκεῖ βέλτιστα
ἀμφί τ' ἐμῶν βιβλίων ἀμφί τε σουφίας αὐτῆς
ἥς ἐμέθεν μάλα σύ γ' εὖχεται δὴ τυχέμεν αὐτοῦ.
ἦτοι τοὺς μὲν ἐγὼ γέννησ' ἀπηύρα μευ θεὸς
ἀμφί σοφίαν ἔμμεν' ἀγαθοὺς ὥς μάλ' ἔραον,
15 ἀτὰρ ἐμοὶ φίλον ἄνθετ' ὁπάονα κάρτ' ἐπίμουνον,
κάρτ' ἐράοντα νόον προσέχειν διαμπερὲς εὖ μοι
καί τε κυδαίνονθ' ἅμα πρήγματα πάνθ' ἕκαστα
μάλα γ' ἐμῆς σοφίης· σέ γ', ἄριστε φίλων ἀνδρῶν.
τοῦνεκα καὺτὸς ἐγὼν ἀμφί σε μέμηλα πολλόν,
20 καὶ σέ γ' ἐμῆς σοφίης εἰκῶ νῦν τ' αὖ ἐσέπειτα
προυβέβλημ' ἀριδείκετον, ἐμφερέα, περίφαντον,
πᾶσι μέροπι βρουτοῖσι τὰμ' ἀναδεικνῦσαν
οἷς ἄρα παιδείας κραδίην πολὺς ἱμερος ἴσχει.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὥς ἄρ' ἔχει, ἀτὰρ ἃ μοι θυμὸς ἀνωγεν
fol. 60v ἀκούους φίλος ἦδη· ἀμφί μὲν εὐστομον αὐδὴν
φροντίδ' ἔχειν, ἐρίηρ', ἀνύτουσαν εὐόρατον
καί τε χαρίεσσαν ἐρμηνείαν νοός, ὥς κεν
ρήτορες ἄνδρες ἐπιμελέες γ' ἔασι πρότεροί τε
κεῖνοι, ἐξ ἄρα τ' ἐκείνων μέχρι νῦν αἰεὶ πουλλοὶ
30 ἢ μάλα φωνῆς ἀμφιπονεῦντες δῆτ' ἀσκησιν,
ποικιλότροπα μηχανόοντες γλωττοδαίδαλοι,
ὥς κεν ἐρεῖν, ψυχάοντες ἢ ρημάτια φαντὶ
χάριν ἐπίθετον ἂν νόον ἔξωθ' ἀστράπτουσαν,
ἥτε φάρος ἐπιπρεπὲς εὐγενεῖ σώματι,
35 λέξιν ἐπαμπίσχοντες ἀνὰ περίφρονα γνῶμαν.
τάδε μὲν ἄρ ποικίλματά σοι, περινουάματ' ἔξω,
μάλα μελόντων, τὰ κ' εὐφραδέα καλλιεπίης·
καὶ τ' ἐπέοικε γὰρ ἄνδρ' ἔνδον σοφὸν ἀτὰρ ἔτ' ἔξω
πρόσθε φέρειν ἢ νοεῖ μάλ' ἀγήλαντα, χαρίεντα,
40 ὄφρα κεν ἄξιος αὐτόθεν εἴη θαύματος αὐτὸς
ἀμφότερον, ψυχὰν εἴσω ἡδέ τε σῶμ' ἔξωθι,

[fol. 59v] COUNSELS TO THE WISE NIKEPHOROS GREGORAS,
AND CONCERNING HIS OWN COMPOSITIONS

[fol. 60r] O dearest Nikephoros mine, you whom I desire to leave as successor to my wisdom, such as it may be, that inheritance < to remain > unscathed in all ways, better than all the many other things God has granted me, (5) I charge you with these commands in verse, just as the custom has been established among us mortals to bequeath to our children in testaments those things we deem best to be preserved < by them > forever, according to the dispositions made about each and every one of them. (10) You I charge, therefore, with these things which seem best to me in the matter of both my books and my wisdom itself, which you boast to have received from me. Verily has God deprived me of my fervent wish that those which I begat might excel in wisdom, (15) but unto me has He given a dear companion, exceeding steadfast, who desires to devote his mind wholly unto me, and who exalts each and every work of my wisdom—I mean you, O best of friends. Wherefore have I taken great care of you, (20) and have set you forth now and forever as a splendid and faithful and conspicuous image of my wisdom, that you may display my works to all those whose hearts greatly crave learning.

[fol. 60v] So stand these matters; but hearken you now (25) as a dear friend to what my spirit urges. Take thought, my trusty one, for eloquent speech which elegantly effects a seemly and graceful expression of thought, even as many assiduous orators have done, from those of old and their successors down to those of the present, (30) who have taken great pains in the practice of speech. Clever tongues have these, who contrive intricate ways and do animate, so to speak, the words they utter with a grace all-effulgent added to their meaning; they invest their careful thought with style of speech, (35) even as a noble body with a becoming robe. Let these outward embellishments and subtleties, and the correctness of elocution, be a care unto you. For it is meet for a man not only to be wise inside, but also to bring forth his thoughts most delightfully, most gracefully, (40) that therefore he may be one worthy of wonder at both his soul within and his body without, or, otherwise

fol. 61r
 45 ἢ γ' ἔτι σῶμα μὲν εἴσω βριαρός, ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἔξω
 μάλ' ἐπιείμενος ἰσχυρ' ὄπλα παμφανόεντα·
 ὥς γὰρ ἄμεινον, ἐπεὶ μὴ θάτερον ἐντὶ διαρκὲς
 ἀλλά γ' ἀτέρμαον, ἀλλά γ' αἰσχίον εἶν μερόπεσσι.
 τῷ γ' ἄρα μοι μάλα σὺ πονέειν ἄμ' ἐπ' ἄμφοι πούλῳ,
 μηδ' ἀλογιστεῖν ὥς κεν ἂν οἶόν τ' εἴη φωνῆς
 εὐγενέος τ' εὐρήμονος, ὅτι κεν εἶν ἄρα πούλλοις
 50 ἥδ' ἄφαρ ἀμφοδίην ἀπαντᾷ πρώτατος αὐτῇ
 ἄθρόον ἱπὶ θάλουσα, ἱμερον ἀμφοράουσιν
 ἰεῖσα πολύν, ἐνδοθὶ κείαρ τερπάζοντα
 πᾶσιν ἔπειτ' ἀκουόντεσσιν αὐτόθεν, ὅτι
 κατὰ γε τοῦμφανὲς ἀνθρωποὶ μάλα δὴ ζώουσι
 καὶ τ' ἐπήρα τά κε πρὶν ὁπώποι τις ἔλκουσι
 55 ρεῖα θυμὸν τάχ' ἀνδρόμεον πρὸς γε σφῶν αὐτῶν,
 καὶ τ' ὀλίγοι τάδε παπταίνοντες ὀλίγωρ' ἔσχον.

Τοῦνεκα σὺ πονέειν μάλ' ἐπίμονα κατ' ἀσκησιν
 φραδμοσύνας προτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἂν ἴχνια λεύσω
 καὶ τε μάλ' ἐσπόμενος πρόθυμός σφιν ὥς κε δύναιο,
 60 κἂν σέ γ' ἔπειτ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἀσχολὸν ἰσχοὶ χρεῖω,
 μὴ σὺ γ' ἀποσχέμεν' ἐντυχίης ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν
 πάμπαν ἐκείνων ὧν δεῦρ' ἡμέας ἀμφικάνει ρὰ
 fol. 61v κλειῶς ἀρίτιμον οὐνεκ' ἄρ εὐστομίας ἐρατεινῆς·
 65 ὅτι κεν ἦν τις ἐπιμελέοιτο κάρτ' ἐπὶ νοῦον
 σφίσι τιθεύμενος ὥς κε τύπους ἀναμάττεσθαι
 κεῖθεν ἂν ἦτορ, ἔπειτα παραπλήσια χρέεσθαι,
 εὐ μάλα δύνατ' ἀνύτειν· ὅς δέ κ' ἀφισταίαιτο
 χροῦνιος ἔκ τ' ἀπόδημος ὁμιλίας γίγνοιτο
 σφειών, λήθεται ἀπορρεῖων ἦν τινα πάροιθεν
 70 λέξατ' ἴσως ἀμείνονα φωνῆς εὐγενέ' ἔξιν.
 γλῶττα γὰρ ἀρδομένη συνεχέεσσιν ἀντλήμασιν
 εὐδρομος ἀνστροφάατ' ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθ' ἐρήρα,
 εἰ δέ γ' ἀνικμος ἔη δηρόν γ' ἀπεκτραπεῖσα
 πηγᾶν, ἄφαρ ἦδε γ' ἔπειτ' ἀκίνητος λείπται.
 75 τοῦνεκα δὴ συνεχιζόμεν εἶν μελέτησι χρεῖω,
 ἀδινά τ' ἐξ ἄρ' ἐθιζόμεν ἀνδρῶν ἐντεύξιος
 εὐ μάλα φωνὰν ἀρίστων εὐεπίης ἀσκησιν·
 καὶ τό γε δὴ πάρος ἀμφοράατ' ἀνδράσι σουφοῖς,
 ἥύτε τηλαυγὲς πρόσωπον ἱμερτόν, ἀπάσης
 80 ἀπ' ἄρα παιδείας ἔργου, φασίν, ἀρχομένοιο,
 καὶ θ' ὁ πολὺς λαὸς ἀμφὶ τόδ' ἄθρόον ἡδὺς ὅπωπε
 fol. 62r γλύκιον οὐκ οἶδ' ὥς τί ποτ' ἄλλο κέαρ τερπάζον.

Καὶ πόνε' ἐνθαῦτα πολὺ· ἀτὰρ ἔπειτα διῶν
 πρόσθεν ὁδοῦ, πόνε' ἀμφὶ θεωρίαν ἐξῆς ὄντων

[fol. 61r] even as one mighty in body within and clad in sturdy, all-splendid armor without. So it is best, since neither < inward nor outward grace > alone is < considered > sufficient among men, (45) but rather, incomplete and even shameful. Therefore you are to take great pains for both; nor are you to neglect to make your speech as noble and fluent as can be, for in the eyes of the many and in public such speech is wont to win the prize [?]; (50) it flourishes with much vigor and greatly charms onlookers. And this charm then forthwith gladdens the hearts of the audience, since men live their lives very much after what is conspicuous; and pleasing things which someone might have seen in the past (55) easily attract the human spirit toward themselves; indeed, few who take sight for these things have been the worse for it.

[fol. 61v] Wherefore you are to take constant pains in practice, keeping your gaze upon traces of the shrewdness of men of old, and following them as eagerly as you can. (60) And even if later you should be compelled to engage in some other occupation, cease not altogether from intercourse with those best of men whose great glory reaches to our own day on account of their lovely eloquence. For if one would strive mightily, (65) keeping his mind upon these men in order to obtain impressions of them upon his heart, and would imitate them, he would be capable of great accomplishment; but he who would keep away too long, and become a stranger to their conversation, would forget and lose whatever (70) superiority of noble speech he might have previously acquired. A tongue watered by continuous drafts does turn speedily and deftly this way and that; but if, removed from the sources, it be too long without moisture, it is thereafter left motionless. (75) Therefore one must persist in study and must be engaged, through constant intercourse with those men who are best at Oratory, in habitual practice of eloquence. (80) From the very beginning, as the saying goes [?] of the work of education [?], the wise men of old looked after eloquence even as a lovely, shining countenance; and the great throng beheld with sheer delight this thing which [fol. 62r] gladdens the heart more sweetly than aught else I know.

Now labor you much upon this; but later, as you proceed along the way, labor you upon the works of

- 85 φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν σπουδάσμασι, κάρτ' ἐπιμέμβλων,
τά περ ἔασι τελειότερ' αὐ ἐνθουσιάνων,
ἥύτε νοῦμιμα φύσιος ἅμφ' ἅπασι πέλετ' ἔργοις
ἐλλογα ἐκπροΐεσθαι γ' ἡττόνων ἐς μείζω.
φιλοσοφία γὰρ ἔστ' ἀκμαιότατον παιδείης
- 90 ἀπάντων μέρος, ἥ τε μέγ' ἔργον ἀνὰ μάλ' ἀειρεν
ἐξοχον, ἀρίτιμόν γ' ὑπέρτατον ἁμαδὶς ἄλλων·
ἡ ῥα θεοῖο ποεῦντος μήδεα ἅμφι φύσιος
πρήγμαθ' ἅπαντα διαμπερὲς ὥς κεν ἔασ' ἕκαστα
διζάεσθ' ἄνθρωπον ἐόντα νόον δαμιουργοῦ
- 95 δεσπότην νύ θ' ὑψιμέδοντος ἀνακτος ὄντων
ἐλλογα δεικνύμεν ἀμφοτέρων, χ' ὥς τύχε μηδὲν
οὐδέ γ' ἄτερθε σοφοῦ κινέοντος ἡγεμονῆος
ἀρχὴν εὐ γε λόγῳ μάλ' ἀραρότα πάντα φύσαντος,
καὶ τ' ἄρ' ἐκείθεν ἐς τε νῦν διοικεῦντος αἰὲν
- 100 ὥς σφιν ἁμεινὸν ἀνὰ μέτροισιν ἅ γ' εὐ τετάχεται.
- fol. 62v Τοῖος ἔρως ἀνθρώποις γεῖνατο φιλοσοφίαν.
ἦτοι βρουτοὶ μὲν μέροπές γ' ὁράοντες ἕκαστα
τοὶ μὲν ἀνυτον ἄρ οὔτι γ' ἔτι πλέον ἐκ τ' ἐνθεῦτεν,
αἰσθήσει μόνον ἀμβιόοντες, ὥς τε περ ἄλλαι
- 105 ψυχαὶ ζῶων αἱ τ' ἄλλοι πεφύκαντ' ἀνοές τε,
τοὶ δέ τ' ἔπειτα μέγ' ἀμφοράοντες ἄραντό γ' ἐνθεν
σκέμμα πολύπονον, οὐ γὰρ ἀπέχρη σφιν μόνον οὐρᾶν
ἀλλὰ τε καυτόθεν ἅμφι γ' ἐταζέμεν ἅ κεν ὀρῶεν·
ὥς ἄρ' ἔχουσι, τίνος ποτ' ἔασι φύσιος ἕκαστα,
- 110 πῶς ἄρα γέντο, τίνα δι' ἄρ αἰτίαν ἐμπεδα μίμνει
ταυτοφυᾶ τὰ γε ταυτοφυᾶ, τὰ δὲ κάλλοι' αἰεὶ,
καὶ τόδε γ' ἄτροπον αἰεὶ σφιν, τό γε δῆθ' ἑτεροῖον,
ξυμμιγέα τ' ἀμιγῆ τε διάνδιχά θ' ἐνοειδῆ·
ἀνὰ τε λοιπὸν τάδε πόνον πολὺν ἀμφελόντες,
- 115 πάντα μάλα ποθέοντες φρούς ν' ὕψισαν εἰκότι λούγῳ
ἔσταότα, διαρκέα, πάνσοφ' ἀπηγέεσθαι,
ὅτι κεν οὐδ' ἐπέοικε τὰ μᾶψ οὕτως εὐκοσμοῦ
πολλὸν ἄσειστα θ' ἅμα τε γενέσθαι μείναι θ' ἐξῆς.
τοῦνεκα δὲ συνήγορον ἄρατο φιλοσοφία
- fol. 63r φροῦνημ' ἅμφι θεοῖο τὰδ' ἔργα πάντ' εὐεργῆ.
καὶ γε τόδ' ἄνθρωπος περιώσιον αὐχημ' ἴσχει,
ὅτι κεν ἂ σοφίσαστο θεὸς μέγας, εὐρατ' ἐτάζων,
καὶ τ' ἄρα συνετὸς ἅμφι γ' ἕκαστα ποήματα γέντο,
καὶ τ' ἄρ' ἐμητίσατ' εὐστροφα βουλάματα θεοῖο·
- 125 ἅμφ' ἄρα φύσιος ἐόντων † τέχνη † τ' οὐσιῶν
ἀραρότα λόγιμ' ἐφράσατ' εὐ διακρίνας ὥς κεν
πάντα διατετάχαι εὐεργίῃ ξύμμετρα,

philosophers (85) concerning the Theory of Being, giving your careful attention to them, and being inspired by that which is more perfect, even as it is the Law of Nature in all of < its > works: to progress reasonably from lesser to greater things. For Philosophy is the supreme part of culture (90) and it has erected a great work, one outstanding and glorious and all-sublime: while God forever thinks thoughts [?] concerning matters of Nature whatever they may be [?], we, though < we be > only men, inquire of the mind of the Lord Creator and the lofty Ruler of all things (95) and strive to demonstrate that < things > are reasonable [?]; and that nothing came into being by accident or without the agency of the wise Prime-Mover who, in the beginning, created everything in harmony with reason and who, from then until now, has managed all things (100) even as it is best for them, in accordance with measures well-fixed.

- [fol. 62v] Such is the striving which bore Philosophy unto men. Now, among mortals who behold everything, some do nothing more than this, and live out their lives in mere perception of things, (105) even as the souls of animals which are by nature without reason or thought; but others carefully examine things, and thus have initiated < the practice of > assiduous reflection. It was not enough for them merely to behold things, they had to inquire forthwith about whatever they saw: what each thing is, what nature it has, (110) how it came into being, through what cause things which are the same by nature remain the same always, whilst others undergo constant change. One particular character of things is always unchangeable, yet another always changes; < some > things are composite, < others > simple; < some > are multiple, < others > uniform. Once they had taken great pains upon such reflections (115) and exhibited much love of them, these men undertook to explain through probable arguments that things are permanent and eternal and wisely < arranged >, since it is not meet that things orderly only by accident should have been created in a permanent manner and should remain so thereafter. For this reason, Philosophy
- [fol. 63r] took as her supporter (120) thought about all these well-wrought works of God. And man has this great thing whereof to boast: that whatever God has devised, he has inquired after and found out; he has come to understand every creation, and has construed God's well-contrived plans < again >. (125) Also, he has thought out coherent pronouncements concerning the sciences [?] of the Nature of Reality and of essences, having well determined that all

ὥς κε πέφυκε λελαχέμεν οὐσίας ἡδ' ἴστασθαι
 130 διὰ θ' ἐκάστην ὕλαν ἐοικυῖάν τε τέλος τε
 χρήσιμον, οὐ γ' ἑκατι κίνησ' ἀγαθὸς θεὸς ἀρχὴν
 πάντα διαπρεπέα, μή τευ ἀνευ λόγοιο
 βελτίονος, σκοπὸν ἀνύσιμον κἀνά τ' ἀναγκαίην
 μάλα γ' ἐπίχρεον αὐτόθεν, ὅστις δέρκετ', ἔχοντος.

Τῷ γ' ἄρα καὶ σὺ δίδευ πόνον αἰὲν φιλοσοφία,
 135 τοῖς τε παλαιοῖς κείνοις, ὧν μέγ' ἐς ἡμέας ἦκει
 κλειὸς ἀρίτιμον, ἀσχολὸν ἱφί νόον προσίσχων
 καὶ τ' Ἀριστοτέλει πλέον, ἅμα τ' οἴκοθεν αὐτὸς
 fol. 63v ὅττι κεν ἐξῇ προστιθεὶς γονίμῳ ῥέα νοῦῳ.
 140 τὰ μὲν ἄρ, ὅσσ' ἔχομεν προτέρων ἀνδρῶν δὴ κείνων,
 πάντα μέλιν σοι πολλόν, Ἀριστοτέλους δ' ἑκατι
 τί τίς ἐρεῖ ὅσον ἀνδρὸς ὄνειαρ τοῦδ' γ' ἐπαρκεῖ
 παρ βίοντον μερόπεσσι ἀνδράσι τοί γε σοφίης
 145 κάρτ' ἐράουσι, μέλει δέ σφιν θεωρία κόσμου;
 εἰς ὃδ' ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων, βρουτοῖς
 φέρτατος ἀτρεκέως ἢ κεν πάντες πρό τ' ἐόντες
 καὶ τε μεθύστερον ἀνδρὸς τοῦδ' ἄρα φύντες αὐτοί.
 ἦτοι τοῦδε μὲν ἅ συντάξαθ' ἅπαντα πάνυ τοι
 θυμῶν ἀξία, νοῦς δ' ἐκτόκια μέγαλοιο,
 150 καὶ σέ γ' ἑκαστ' ἐπιτέλλομ' ἅπαντ' εὐ μαθεῖν τάνδρός·
 ἀτὰρ ὅσα Λογικ' ἀμφεπονήσατο καὶ τε Φυσικὰ
 κάρτα μέλιν γέ σοι τάδ' ἔχειν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν αἰέν,
 ὅττι κεν ἀνὴρ εἰς ὅτι μάλα δῆτα πέφυκε
 βέλτιον ἀνῦσ' ἐπιμελέως, ἐξίκετο μοῦνος
 155 φιλοσοφίας εἶδεα τάδε, παρεάσας οὐδὲν
 ὧν κεν ἔην ἐρέειν ἀμφὶ τάδε. ἡ μέγα θαῦμα,
 πῶς ποτ' ἔπειτ' αὐτὸς πρό τ' ἐόντων γειναμένων τε
 fol. 64r πάντων ἐξῆς τάδε σοφίης ἴκετ' ἐς ἄκρον,
 160 σὺν τ' ἐπέρανε τῶν οὐκ ἔστι πλεῖν ἐννοεῖν,
 φουρὰν ὀνήσιμον ὥς εἴ τις ἕτερός τ' εἰν βίῳ
 τάνδε γ' ἐνείκας ἐπωφελέα μερόπεσσι βρουτοῖς·

Τοιγὰρ ὄναιο, φίλων ἀνδρῶν ἐμοὶ βέλτιστε,
 τῶνδ' ἄρα συντάξιων, πεπνυμέν' ἔρδων αὐτὸς,
 ἀτρεκέως ἀμφιπονέων πρήγματ' ἐρατεινά,
 165 τίμια, μάλα βιωφελέα, πουλύχρεα σουφοῖς·
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα πονοίης ἀμφὶ τ' αὐτῶν τεττάρων
 βιβλίων Μαθηματικῶν εὐμαθίαν, ὧν κεν
 μάλ' ἔρασαι, τῶν δ' αὐτῶν μάλιστ' Ἀστρονομίης
 πουλυτίμοιο, μεγαλυνύμου, τὴν ἄρ' ἐμείο
 170 ἔκδεξάμενος ἀν σουφοῖσι γένου περιφάμος.
 ἦτοι τὴν μὲν ἐγὼν σοφίην νέαν ἀνάειρα

things have been arranged well and in good order, that they have obtained essence and permanence on account of their appropriate material < composition > and advantageous (130) purpose; < and > for the sake of what God moved all things in the beginning, appropriately < and > not without some superior reason which pursues, if one looks < properly >, an effectual and necessary and needful purpose.

[fol. 63v] Therefore, bestow your labor always upon Philosophy. (135) Keep your mind with constant vigor upon those men of old whose great glory reaches to our own day; and devote yourself especially to Aristotle, adding as much as may be possible of your own by means of your productive mind. Give you, then, much attention to (140) all the works that have come down to us from those men of old; but, in the case of Aristotle, what might one say that would do justice to the profit that this man has afforded in the life of mortals who are greatly desirous of wisdom and who give their attention to the contemplation of the Universe? This one man is worth many other mortals: (145) he is indeed better than all those born before or after him. All the works this man composed, the products of a great mind, are worthy of marvel, and I charge you, learn well each and every one of them. (150) But give you particular attention to his works on Logic and Physics, and keep your mind on them always; for this man alone has completed the assiduous study of these branches of Philosophy to the very limits of possible achievement, and has not overlooked anything (155) that one might say about them. O great wonder, that he should ever have reached the place paramount in these branches of wisdom among those before him and those born after him, and reached limits beyond which nothing can be imagined, [fol. 64r] for he has brought forth this useful (160) contribution to the advantage of mortals as no one else ever alive!

Thus, best of friends, you would derive profit from these compositions, and would act wisely by devoting your careful labor to < these > lovely and precious works of great benefit and use to the life of wise men. (165) But afterwards, devote your labor also to the careful learning of the Four Books of Mathematics, which you long after, and again especially those of all-precious and glorious Astronomy, which you have learnt from me, and whereby you have become famous among wise men. (170) It was I who, after much toil, raised on high this

- ὑπόσ' ἐς ἀριδείκετον, ἐκλείπουσιν πάλαι,
 φάος ἀνὰ μερόπεσσι βρουτοῖς, πολλὰ μογήσας,
 ἐκ τ' ὀλίγων ἐμπυρευμάτων φλοῦγα μεγίστην
 175 τῆσδ' ἄρα σουφίης περίφαντον ἔκη λαμπρὰν
 λαμπετόσσαν ἐμοὶ τιμὰν ἀνὰ τε νῦν ἀνὰ θ' ἐξῆς
 fol. 64v ὅτι κεν αὐτὸς χρῆμα τόδ' ἐξοχὸν ἀπ' ἄρα πάσης
 κτήσιος ἀρχῆθέν τ' ἄχρι ἐς δεῦρο σοφίης
 καίνισα, πόλλ' ἔτε' οἰχόμενον μετ' ἀνθρώποισι.
 180 καὶ σοὶ ἀμφ' ἱμερόν τ' ὥρσα περιώσιον ἄφαρ
 κτήσασθ' εἶν γε πόνοισι τήνδε σοφίην πολλοῖς,
 ἀτὰρ ἔπειτα κτήσας δι' ἄρ δέγμενος εὖ γε
 καὶ τ' ἴφι πάντα μύησας βένθεα τῆσδε σοφίης·
 ἐσσυμένως γὰρ ἐγὼν ἀπηγεόμην, σὺ δ' ἄκουες
 185 πάντα δόγματα τῆσδε σοφίης εὖ μάλ' ἀνύτων.
 κτήσας μὴν ἄρ πάντα γ' ἐράων ἄφθον' ἐμεῖο·
 πᾶν γὰρ ἀπῆεν βάσκανον ἐξ ἐμέθεν γ' αὐτοῖο,
 μάλα δέ τ' ἦραον ἡδ' ἄρ ἔην πρόθυμός τ' ἀμφὶ σέ
 ὥς κεν ἅπαντα διδάξῃ, καὶ σ' οὐδὲν φευξέται
 190 τῆσδ' ἄρ' ἐπιστήμης λαβύρινθός τ' εὐστρουφὰ τε
 οὐδαμὰ νουάματα· τερπάζεο δ' ἅπανθ' ἄμα
 κεῖαρ ἔσωθ' ἔχων, μάλα δὴ πολύπουνα, σουφά,
 ἀρίτιμ', ἱμερόεντα, πολυμέριμνα, πόνοισιν
 οὐκ ὀλίγοις κατατρύχοντα τοὺς γ' ἐράοντας,
 195 κτώμενος, ὥς κεν ξοῖς περίφαιμος ἀνὰ πάντεσσιν
 fol. 65r ὅσσοι νῦν ἔασι σοφίας ἐρασταὶ βρουτοί.

- Ἄλλ' ἦτοι σὺ μὲν ὥς γ' ἔραες τύχες, ἅττ' ἐπόνεις δὴν
 πάνθ' ἁμαδὶς λεξάμενος, ἡδ' ἄρ ἐμεῖο κλείος
 ὑπόσ' ἀναείρας, ὅτι σεῖό γε καίρι' ἔτυχον
 200 εὐμαθέος πολὺ ἀκροατοῦ κοῦκ ἄρ' ἁμαρτον
 σεῖο, μάτην πονέων εἰς οὐδὲν ὄνειαρ ἐμοὶ τε
 κοῦδὲν ἔλλατον σοί, ἀτὰρ ἀμφοτέροισι πόνησα
 κερδόσυνά τ' ἐπίηρά τε κύδιμά θ' ἐξῆς ἄμμιν.
 σὺ γὰρ ἐμεῖο τιμά, σέο δ' αὐτός, ὅτι γ' ἕκαστα
 205 παντ' ἐμέθεν διδάχας ἔπιτυχῶς εὖ μάλ' ἀνύσας.
 τῷ γ' ἄρα καὐτὸς ἀμφοδίην αἰρεῦμ' ἐς ἐμεῖο
 κατ' ἄρα σουφίαν αὐτήν, κλῆρον ἱμερτὸν ἔπειτα,
 ὥς γε δοκεῖς μοι, σοὶ μάλ' ἐρατεινόν τ' ἀρίτιμον.
 καὶ σοὶ παρτίθεμ' αὐτὸς ἃ συντέταχ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλα
 210 βιβλί' ἅπερ γ' οἶσθ' ἡμέτερ', ἃ μοι φίλτατα πάντων,
 ἅττ' ἔραμ' ἄσυλά μοι μενέειν ἀνὰ πάντα αἰῶ.
 τῶν δὴ πολὺ γ' ἀμφιμέμηλα, φίλων ἄτε τέκνων,
 ἅττα μογοστόκοις ὠδίσι γέγοντ' ἄρ ἔμοιγε,
 ἀφθιτά τ' εἶραμαι βιόειν ἀζήμιά τ' αἰέν,

[fol. 64v]

science, which was waning before, into a conspicuous light among mortals. From a few embers I lighted a great flame of this science, a flame conspicuous and resplendent, which gives unto me (175) shining renown now and forever and into every age to come. For I have renewed this thing, the most excellent of all in the field of acquisition of wisdom from the very beginning until now, a thing which had been lost to men for many years. (180) I also roused in you great desire to learn this science with much labor; and at last you have learnt it, having taken it over thoroughly, and have been well initiated into all the depths of this science. For eagerly I taught you, and you hearkened to (185) all the doctrines of this science, succeeding well indeed. You have lovingly amassed all this wealth of mine. For all envy departed from me, and I desired and was most anxious that you should learn everything, and that (190) naught of this science should escape you: none of its labyrinthine and complex notions; and you delighted in keeping everything at once in your breast, having learnt these difficult and wise and glorious and lovely and wearisome things, which exhaust in many labors all who desire them, (195) in order that you might be celebrated among all mortals of our day who are lovers of wisdom.

[fol. 65r]

You have fared even as you desired: whatever you have labored long upon, you have reaped: you also exalted my glory on high, for I have been fortunate in you, (200) an able disciple. Nor did I devote unto you vain labour, to no profit to myself or to you, by misjudgement of you; but rather, I have wrought things of use and pleasure and glory to both of us. You are my prize, and I yours, since (205) you have learnt everything from me with great success. Therefore publicly I choose you < as heir > to my wisdom, a lovely inheritance which, I think, is beloved of you and precious to you. And I commend to your keeping all the books I have composed here and there (210)—you know them—which are the dearest of all things to me, and which I desire to remain unscathed into all ages. I have taken great care for these books, even as for my own children; they were born to me in wearisome pangs; and I desire that they endure intact and undamaged forever,

- fol. 65v μήποτ' ἐρωῇσι χρόνοιο παραρρύναντα
 ἥυτε πάνθ' ἁμαδὶς χρόνος ἅ τ' ἐσθλὰ ἅ τ' ἄρα μὴ
 ῥεῖων ἄσχετα παρασύρητ' ἂν βένθεσι λήθης.
 ἀλλ' ἄρ' ἐγὼ σε μέγαν πολυωρὸν ἂν' ἡμετέροισι
 220 τοῖσδε τέκεσσ' ἐπιτέλλομ' ὕστατίοισιν ἔτεσσιν
 ἔμμεν' ἐπιμελέα φρουνητιστήν, ὥς κε σαώσεις
 ἡ μάλ' ἀτειρέα, τιμήεντ' ἐσουμένοισι.
 τὰ μὲν ἐγὼν ὥς ἔλπομ', ἴσως ἀληθέ' οἶων,
 ἴσως δ' οὐ, ἀλλ' ἔλπομ' ἐγὼν οὕτωσί γ' ἔμπης
 ὥς κεν ἔμοιγε τὰ βιβλί' ἐσεῖται ἄντερα λώβης
 225 καὶ τ' ἀζήμι' ἔπειτα διαμπερὲς ὀπιγόνοισιν·
 οὐ μόνον εἴνεκα σεῖο μάλιστ' ἐπίτηδες γνώμας
 προυνοίας τ' ἀπερυκέμεν ὀλλύντα φθόνον αὐτῶν,
 ἀλλ' ἔτι γ' ὅτι κεν, ἴν' ἀδεῶς ἐρέω τὰ με θυμὸς
 ἀνώγει δοκέειν, ἐξ ἄρα τί γ' ἔστ' ὄνειαρ
 230 αὐτῶν σοφίης ἐράουσι πολυτμήτοιο,
 εἶδεα ποῦλλ' ἑτεροῖά γ' ἐχούσης, πάντ' ἐρίηρα,
 παρ μερόπεσσι βρουτοῖς οἷς νόος ἐστὶ σαόφρων.

- Παντοίοισι γὰρ ἀνὰ κόμμασι χαραχθέντα
 fol. 66r παιδείας ἥνεκα πονάματα, πουλυμαθίας
 235 κύδιμα δεῖγματα, δόξαν ἐπειγόμενος κτάσθαι
 ἀμφὶ λόγους μεγάλην ἦν οὐτις ὀνοῦσαιτ' ἀνὴρ,
 εὐ μάλα εἰδὼς φύσιος ἀνδρομέου φίλαυτα,
 ὥς κεν ἅπαντες ταρπόμεθ' ἀρικύδιςτ' ἔμμεν
 ἢ δοκέειν ἔμμεν πανδέξειοι πᾶσαν ἄρα
 240 σουφίαν, ἔργα πάνθ' ἁμαδὶς ἃ πονεῦσ' ἀνθρωποι,
 πάντα πρήγματα πουλὺ μάλ' ἰδριες, ἀπαράμιλλοι.
 τῷ γ' ἄρα κάμει θυμὸς νύ τ' ἄνωγε δι' εἶδεα πάντα
 σουφίας ἀμφαδίην πουνάματα εἰνέγκασθαι·
 καὶ τ' ἐπόνησα τὰ μὲν ῥήτρας τ' εὐφωνίης τε
 245 δεῖγματα, μούνον ἂν' ἱμερόεσαν ἄρ' ἄσκησιν
 γλώττης φρουνητὶδ' ἔχοντ', ἐρατεινὴν μάλα καθ' ὥραν,
 τὰ δ' ἀπ' ἄρ' ἐκλόγιμα φιλοσουφίας, ἀπλοϊκὰ τε
 δίχα τε πάσης λέξιος ὥραν ἐχούσης τερπνὴν,
 εἰαρί κεν φωνῆς θαλέθουσιν, ἀτὰρ ἄκομψα.
 250 ἀμφὶ τε Φυσικ' Ἀριστοτελήϊα πουλύστρουφα,
 πουλυέλιχθ' εὐρήματα φύσιος ἱστορίης
 ἀπηγεύμενα, ἀμφὶ τε Μαθηματικὰν ἔξιν
 fol. 66v ἢ ἐπὶ πόλλ' ἐμόγησα, νόον Πτολεμαίου πολλὸν
 μάλιστ' ἀμφ' Ἀστρουνομίην διζεύμενος εὐ τε,
 255 σὺν τ' ἀγίοχα πάντα πρήγματα θωυμαστά.
 τὰ μὲν ἐγὼν τῶς ἄνυσα καὶ τε πάντα συνέσχον
 ἐς τέλος ἐσχατον ἰκόμενος, παρόσον καὶ καινὰς
 συνταξάμαν ἐπιστήμης μεθόδους τῆσδ' αὐτὸς

[fol. 65v] (215) lest they be dragged off by the currents of time, even as time in its unceasing flow drags off everything, be it noble or not, to the depths of oblivion. I charge you, be the greatly watchful and careful guardian of these children of mine unto the end, (220) that you may preserve them unharmed, held in honor by future generations. So do I hope, perhaps with reason, perhaps not, but I continue to hope nevertheless, that my books will escape violation and (225) will remain undamaged for later men. This not only on account of your own thought and foresight in keeping jealous ruin from these books, but also—that I may thus proclaim freely what my spirit urges me to think—since they will be of some profit (230) to those desirous of diverse wisdom, which has all manner of branches, each of them a trusty companion [?] to mortals with prudent minds.

[fol. 66r] I have brought forth works about all the various branches of culture; glorious (235) masterpieces of erudition they are, for I desired to gain great renown which no man might reproach. I know well the selfishness of human nature: we all delight to the highest degree in excelling or seeming to excel in every branch (240) of wisdom, and in being knowledgeable and unrivalled in everything that men do. Wherefore my spirit, too, urged me to publish works touching upon all branches of wisdom: and I toiled at showpieces of euphonious eloquence, (245) taking thought only for graceful practice in speech, lovely and timely [?]; and also at choice pieces of Philosophy, which were simple and unpretentious and without any beautiful and charming style which blossoms, as it were, with the Spring of Oratory. (250) I have labored over Aristotle's complicated Physics, his intricate findings narrating his study of Nature, and over Mathematics. I have greatly toiled over the latter,

[fol. 66v] and delved deeply into the genius of Ptolemy, especially in the matter of Astronomy, (255) and have compiled all < manner of > wondrous things. Thus have I completed and compressed everything, and have reached the farthest possible end, in as much as I have arranged anew the methods of this science, fittingly and con-

- 260 μάλ' ἐπεοικότα διατιθεῖς ῥέα τοῖς νῦν χρούνοις,
 χ' ὥς τ' ἀπονώτερον ἀπηγεύμενος ἐντι χρῆσθαι
 δι' ἄρ' ἕκαστα σεληναίας καὶ θ' ἡελίοιο
 τῶν τ' ἄλλων νῦν τ' ἀστρων πρήγματα μάλ' ἐπιτυχῶς.
 οὐ μὲν τις ὀνόσαιθ' ὀράων ἢ χρώμενος ὥς κεν
 265 αὐτὸς ἐγὼν νόμισα παρ' ἕκαστα μηχανάσθαι,
 καὶ τε σὺ γ' οἶσθα, κατ' ἐμὰ πολλάκι νούμιμα ῥέξας,
 εὐ γε τυχών, μάλα τ' ἀσφαλέως νύ θ' ἐκάστοτε ῥέξας.
 ἀτὰρ δὴθ' ἔλε' ἐξείης διαμπερὲς αὐτὸς
 τοῖς γ' ἐμέθεν ῥ' αὐτοῖο νόμοισιν αἰεὶ χρεῖσθαι
 270 πὰρ τινα δὴ καλέουσιν ἐκάστοτε νύ τευ χρεῖαν,
 εὐ εἰδῶς ἔνθεν ῥέα τάχιστ' ἀνύτειν εὐ
 ὦνπερ ἄρ' οὐνεκά τις ἀμφὶ σ' ἰκάνει δὴ χρεῖῳ.
- fol. 67r Τοῦνεκα δὴτ', ἐπεὶ τί μὲν ἀζόμενός γ' ἴφι τὰμὰ,
 τί δέ τ' ἀμείνον' ὀϊῶν ὥς ἄρα νούμις' ἔγωγε
 275 χράασθ' ἀμφὶ ἕκαστ' Ἀστρουνομίης νύ κεν ἔργα,
 τάχεος εἵνεκα εὐπετέος τε χρήσιος ἔνθεν
 ἢ καθὰ Πτολεμαῖος διατετάχεται πρίν,
 εἴλεο κατ' ἄρ' ἐμὰς παρφάσιας ἀμφοιπονεῖσθαι
 τά κεν ἐκάστοτε θυμὸς ἀνώγει διζέεσθαι
 280 τῆς γ' Ἀστρουνομικῆς σοφίης χρεῖῳδ' ἕκαστα,
 εὐ μάλα τήρεέ μοι τάδ' ἐμὰ συντάγματ' αὐτὸς
 μούνιμ', ἀτειρέα, ρεύμασιν ἄφθιτ' αἰεὶ χρόνιοι,
 ὥς κεν ἴσως βιότιοι ἐπειτ' ἄρ' ὄνειαρ εἴη.
 σεῖο γὰρ ἀμφὶ τά, βέλτιστε, προύνοια διαρκῆς
 285 ἄλκαρ ἐσεῖτ' ἀπ' ἄρα σφιν ἐρύκουσα φθόρον αἰέν.
 σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ἐάω πὰρ φύλακι τάδ' ἐμὰ πάντα
 φίλτατα ψυχῆς ἐκτόκια, πολυπούθητά μοι,
 καὶ σ' ἐπιτάρροθον ἡδέ τ' ἐπίτροπον ἀμφ' ἄρα σφιν
 παρτίθεμαι μελεδωνόν τ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ λοιγὸν ἐέργειν
 290 σφειών, ὅττι κεν ὀφλεις τάδ' ἄρ' ἐμοιγε πουλλῶν
 οὐνεκα, καὐτὸς ἐρέεις σὺ, ἡδέ τε πάντες ὅσοισιν
 fol. 67v ἡμέες ἐσμέν ἀρίγνωτοι· ἔασι δέ γε συχνοὶ
 οἱ τὰμὰ τίμιά τ' ἐμφανέα τ' ἐπιεικῶς νυνὶ
 πρήγμασι πᾶσι λόγοισι τε παντοίοισι γνόντες
 295 πὰρ γ' ὀπάοντα νύ τ' αὐτόθεν ἴσασι μάλ' ἄτμητα
 τὰ σά, δι' ἄρα συνάρσαντ' ἀφορμῇσι πολλαῖς.
- Τῶν ἔνεκ' ὀφλων, ὥς γ' ἐφάμην, χάριν ἄτροπόν μοι,
 μνήστιν ἐμεῖο σὺ μήποτε λίποις ἐνδικός ῥ' ὦν·
 ἀτὰρ ἐμοιγε χάριν ἄλλην τινα μήποτε δοίης
 300 τῆσδε σὺ μέζον', ἕκαθ' ὦν ὀφλεις σὺν μοι πουλλῶν,
 ἢ τὰμὰ τάδε ποήματ', ἐμεῖο θανόντος, ἃ δὴ μοι
 φίλτατ' ἔασι, φυλάξας ὕστατίοισι χρούνοις

veniently adjusting them to the present time, (260) and explaining how one may handle them with great success in all matters of the Moon, the Sun, and the other stars. No one who has observed or used < this work > in accordance with the procedures I have prescribed for each case could possibly find fault with it. (265) You know this, for you have often worked in accordance with my prescriptions and have met with sure success on each occasion. Henceforth, choose always to follow my procedures whenever any needful matter may call for it, (270) for you know that in this way you will solve swiftly whatever problem you may have.

- [fol. 67r] Wherefore, in as much as, partly because you stood in great awe of my works, and partly because you thought it to be better to follow my prescriptions on all astronomical operations than < to follow > the old dispositions of Ptolemy (275) for reasons of speed and convenience, you chose to work in accordance with my rules whenever your spirit urged you to seek out the necessary facts < in the field > of the science of Astronomy, (280) keep you forever these compositions of mine intact and unworn and unscathed from the ravages of time, that they may perhaps be of profit to future generations Your constant protection of them, O best of friends, will be unto them even as a bulwark warding off foul ruin forever. (285) I make you guardian of all these dearly beloved offspring of my soul; and I charge you as their defender and protector and tender to keep mischief from them. You owe me this in return for a great many (290) things, as you yourself will concede, as well as all those which know us well. Many
- [fol. 67v] there are at present who have come to know my honored and exalted position < obtained > through all manner of practical deeds and literary works, and who know that your fortunes followed mine closely from the very beginning (295) and were assisted by various means [?].

Therefore, even as I have said, you owe me unswerving gratitude; and, in as much as you are just, may you never desert my memory. But you could never give me greater thanks for all the many things that you owe me (300) than by preserving these most beloved works of mine even after my death. < Keep them > safe

ἄσυλα τ' ἀλώβητά τε, παντάπασ' ἀζήμια.
 οὐ μὲν ἄρα μόνα τά γ' ἄμφ' Ἀστρονομίαν ἔασιν,
 ἀλλά τε σὺν σφιν ἅμα καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσα σύνταγμ' αὐτὸς
 305 διάφορ' οὐκ ὀλίγα σοι παρτίθεμ', ἅπανθ' ἐξῆς
 ὥς κε σωώσεις ἄφθιτ' ἀνὰ βίοτον μερόπεσσι.
 τὰ μὲν ἄρ' ὀψιγόνουσιν ἐμεῦ ὀπάσουσι βρουτοῖς
 μνημοσύναν ἴσως μάλα κεν πολύδοξον, ἱμερτήν,
 δι' ἄρ' ἐκάστοις ἀνθρώποισι πολὺ γ' ἐρήιρα.
 fol. 68r τίς δέ κε δυνάμενός γ' ἀτελεύτητον κλέος εὔρεῖν
 οὐ πρόθυμος μάλ' ἐπείγεται ἀνὰ τόδε, πούλῳ ἐράων,
 κἂν εἰ μηδὲν αἰοί τῆς ἔρατ' αὐτὸς δόξης
 τυχών, ἦτε θανὼν πάρος ἦτ' ἀπόδημος ἄοπτος
 315 τηλόθ' ἐὼν ἀδόκητός θ' οὐράαν οὐράσθαι τε,
 τοῖσιν ἔρατ' ἀνθρώποις κάρτ' ἀρίτιμος ἀκούειν;
 ἀλλ' ἄρ' ὁμως τοῖος πέλετ' ἀνδρόμεος νόος, αἰὲν
 ἴφι ὀριγνόμενος δόξης, κ' εἰ μηδὲν αἶτι
 τῶν κε τιμώντων. τοῦ θ' ἔνεκα καὶ τ' αὐτὰ μετὰ μοῦρον
 εἴραμεν ἔμμεν' ἀγακλεέες, περίφαμοι βρουτοί,
 320 ταρπόμενοι φαντάσμασι νῦν ἀμφί γε τὸ ἴον,
 ὅττι' οὐ λεύσομεν οὐκ ἀκούομεν ἤτε πάρος
 ἢ γενόμεσθ' ἀνούσιοι, τελέθοντες ἄαπτοι.

Τοῦνεκά μοι, ἄγαθέ, πουνέειν τῶν ἔκατ' ἐπιτέλλω,
 καὶ τε πόνησον ἐπιμελέως δῆθ' ὥς κε σωώσεις
 325 βιβλία τὰμά, τά μοι πρό γε πάντων ἀρίτιμ' ἐσθλῶν
 ὦν τύχον ἢ δράσα πᾶρ βίοτον μάλ' ἀνύτων τόνδε.
 οὐ μὲν ἄμεινον ἂν αὐτὸς ἔκρινα οὔτε χάριεν
 ἐκ σέθεν ἔς γ' ἐμὲ εἴ κεν, ἐπίτροπος παισὶ μοι
 fol. 68v λειψθεὶς νηπιάχοις, ἀγαθ' ἔδρασας ἂν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς,
 330 ἦε πόνους μοι τούσδ' ἄρα καὶ τέκεα φίλτατα
 αἰ κε θανόντος ἐμείο ἀτειρῇ πουλωρῆσαις.
 ναὶ πρὸς τοῦ φίλιου, πρὸς τοῦ λογίοιο θεοῖο,
 μή μ' ἀποέρσης ὦν ἔραμ', ὦν σοὶ δῆτ' ἐπιτέλλω,
 335 ἀλλὰ σάου μοι τὰ πονέσας βιβλί' ὥδινα,
 σάου μοι προνοήσας, ἴν' ἀφθορα παρμείνιεν.
 σοὶ γὰρ ἐπιτρόπῳ τάδε παρτίθεμ' ἀσφαλίσασθαι,
 μάλα πεποισθῶς, ὥς γε τὰμά τιμᾶντι πάντα
 καὶ τ' ἐράοντι διαμπερὲς ἅπαν ὃ κεν βουλοίμην
 καρπαλίμως ἐπίπουνα μάλ' ἀνύτεν, ὥς κ' ἐθέλοιμι.
 340 τῷ γ' ἄρα κἀνθάδε τόνδ' ἔρον ἀπόπλησον ἐμείο,
 χώρα τέ μοι γένε' ἄσυλος ἀμφὶ τεκέεσσ' ἀμεδαποῖς,
 ὥς κ' ἐν ἄρ' ἀσφαλεῖ μενέειν τὰμά φίλτατ' ἔς ἀεί,
 Χώραν ἐμὴν περικαλλέα τάνδε σὺ ναῖον μουνάν
 ἦν ἄρ' ἐγὼ σοι αἴσιον ἰδρυσάμην κατὰπαυμα
 345 εὐδιόον τ', ἀπὸ πάντα χεῖματα πάντα δὲ λυγρὰ

from harm and mischief and damage until the end of time. I bequeath to you not only the books on Astronomy, but, in addition to these, also all of (305) the many and various other works that I have composed, that you henceforth may preserve them unspoilt for mortals. Perhaps these works will make my memory splendid and all-glorious to late-born generations, since they will be pleasing to all men. (310) For what man who is able to attain immortal glory does not desire and mightily strive to achieve this, even if he naught perceive the renown for which he longed once he has acquired it, be he dead beforehand, or else far away, absent and invisible, where he expects neither to see nor to be seen (315) by those men amongst whom he longed to be honored? Such is the mind of men always: it grasps furiously at renown, even if it naught perceives them which honour it. Wherefore we mortals desire to be glorious and famous even after our demise, (320) delighting now in visions of a future when we see not nor hear as before but have become ethereal, in a bodiless state.

Therefore, my good one, work you hard at all the things which I commend to you; and take careful thought for the preservation (325) of my books, the most precious of all the good things I have acquired and accomplished during my successful lifetime. If you were left a guardian of my helpless little ones and would treat them well, I should not consider your < service > unto me better done or more pleasing (330) than if you would keep safe these works and dear children of mine after my death. In the name of God of friendship, of God all-wise, deprive me not of what I desire, what I commend to you; but save the books which I brought forth in pangs, (335) save them with your foresight, that they may endure unspoilt. I entrust them to you as guardian for safe-keeping in all confidence, for you have revered all of my works and always desired to accomplish well and with care whatever I might want, and however I may wish it done. (340) Therefore fulfil my desire in this matter, too, and be you an unshakable keep (*chora*) for my offspring, that my dearest ones may remain forever in safety, whilst you dwell in this beautiful Keep (*Chora*) Monastery of mine, which I built as a pleasant and calm heaven for you. (345) You

σεῖ' ἀπερύκουσαν ἀνὰ βίον αἰεὶ τόνδε·
 ἢ σύ γ' ἀπότροπον ἀπ' ἅρα πάντων ὁχλῶν ζωὴν
 fol. 69r ἀμβιόεις, ἅμ' ἀτειρέ' ἄσχολον ἀμφὶ σοφίῃ.

Τοῦνεκα καὶ σὺ τάδ' ἐκτόκια σοφίης ἀμεδαπῆς
 350 δέχνοιο, ἥντε χώρ' εὐλίμενος, ἀν' ἅρα πάντα
 ἐξείης ἀπειρέσιόν γ' αἰῶν' ἐρύκουσα
 φθοῦρον ἀεικέα τῶνδ' ἐπιγιγνόμενον φθονόεντα,
 ὅσσα τε πόλλ' ἕτερα βιβλί' ἄγχοχα τῇδε
 ἡμὲν ἰρὰ ἡδ' αὐ σοφίης τῆς Ἑλληνίδος·
 355 τοῦτο μὲν ἀμφὶ ῥητορικῆς ἀεθλεύματα,
 τοῦτο δ' ἄρ ἀμφὶ φιλοσοφίας θεάματα σεμνά,
 τοῦτο δ' ἄρ ἀμφὶ γε ποήσιος ἱμερτὰ πολλὸν
 ἀραρότα μέτροισιν ἐκάστοισι πονάματα.
 πάντ' ἅρα μοι καὶ τάδ' ἀμφίεπε τῇ μονᾷ σῶα
 360 πρόφρονι νῶ, χάριν ἐμὰν ἡδέ θ' ὅσοι γ' ἐξείης
 εἶρασταὶ σοφίης ἐρήρος ἔσσονται βρουτοί.

I. Š. and J. F.

it shelters from all storms and griefs throughout your earthly life; here you abide, free from all annoyances, in devotion to wisdom.

[fol. 69r] Therefore receive you these products of my wisdom, (350) even as a keep (*chora*) endowed with a safe harbor, sheltering them for countless ages to come from foul and envious ruin that may threaten them, as well as all the many other books that I have collected in this place, of both sacred and profane wisdom. (355) Here are contests of Oratory; here sacred visions of Philosophy; here exceeding lovely works of Poetry, bound in each and every metre. With a willing mind, keep you all these, too, safe in the monastery, (360) both for my sake and for that of all lovers of wisdom—that trusty companion—who shall be born hereafter.

J. F. and I.Š.

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NIKOS A. NISSIOTIS

VISIONS OF THE FUTURE OF ECUMENISM

The title which is given to me for this paper needs a careful analysis for clarifying and making precise our subject matter. This is a prerequisite towards a possible, positive contribution to the main theme of this symposium, "The Future of the Ecumenical Movement."

A vision can be defined as an image-concept of knowledge, i.e., combining reason with imagination. It is the outcome of a profound mental and psychological operation which sets in motion and unites data of the experience of the reality with cognitive elements and fantasy based on the experiential assimilation of the given reality. It is, then, through intuition that the human mind projects into the future a 'new image-reality,' which is based on the experience of the same reality. If one describes in this way the operation and the meaning of a vision, it becomes immediately clear that one admits that a vision is strictly a subjective matter. It can be that the reality, in our case 'ecumenism,' can be perceived in a trans-subjective way because it is an objective reality in which subjects are sharing in common. That is why we can exchange our visions about this reality, make ourselves understandable, and enter into the debate about the suggested visions by each one of us. Here, I see the legitimation of the formulation of the particular topic of this paper by the organizers of this symposium.

We have to insist, on the other hand, for the sake of indicating the limitations of the theme, that a vision, as described above, is the expression of a subjective experience and psychological state. The objectivity of a vision depends upon the judgment and evaluation of other subjects, who have passed through the same experience of the same reality. The difficulty with our reality, i.e., 'ecumenism,' is that it is, in itself, an extremely diversified object, which causes an extremely diversified experience. At the same time, it cannot be regarded as a pure, objective reality because it can always be perceived only through very strong, subjective presuppositions of a profound existential nature, exercising a direct influence on the way that each subject shares in this objective reality. Religious traditions and customs, dogmatic positions and beliefs, confessional adherence, and cultural background affect directly the way in which we experience ecumenism as an objective reality.

Consequently, our visions may differ greatly and we have to accept honestly their relative value. Moreover and particularly, our visions of future ecumenism, given the definition I have attempted, suffer more than other similar visions from our psychological status, which is caused

by our particular relationship with ecumenism. Visions can differ because some persons are fully engaged in ecumenism on an international scale and in a successful way, and some others are not. Others feel frustrated because they have not been accepted as ecumenists internationally or locally by their church. Others attempt in vain or successfully to use ecumenism for propagating their theology or for advancing their revolution in their own churches. Finally, there are those who have taken their stance for or against ecumenism based on second-hand information and not on their experience, thus being carried by their liberal or conservative ecclesiastical, theological, or political orientation.

These great variations, which create a plurality of visions for the future, cannot be definitively overcome because fundamental prerequisites cannot be universally established for a global and identical, ecumenical experience. This is true, of course, for all kinds of visions, especially for visions of ecumenism projected into the future. What we should attempt, in order to clarify this objective reality as the source of our diversified, subjective experience, is an analysis and an appreciation of the present-day ecumenism before we express a vision of the future. This methodological approach can, at least, unite our way of looking at things of this matter. It offers us a starting point in common, though, again, our subjective, diversified experience and psychological status can affect also our judgments and evaluations as we try to analyze the existing patterns of ecumenism.

A last introductory remark must be made concerning the nature of our visions. There are visions which express our desire for how things ought to develop in the future, i.e., visions of wishful thinking; and there are visions which express our prognosis, i.e., how things are simply going to develop in the future based on the evaluation of the past and contemporary situation. In my presentation I shall attempt a combination of both of these kinds of visions, a method which can limit my fantasy on the one hand, and liberate my thoughts towards possible new developments on the other.

Ecumenism and the One Ecumenical Movement

What do we really understand by the term 'ecumenism?' I raise this question because I have the impression that this term gives utterance to an easy generalization. As it usually happens with almost all of the terms with the ending '-ism,' ecumenism may indicate a kind of contemporary ideology, i.e., a general fashion of *Weltanschauung* which interprets world reality and suggests definite ways of solving problems following its principles of value and consistent action. An ideology, understood in this way, risks falling into the temptation of exclusiveness and absolutism, especially in the realm of sociopolitical struggles and theological debates.

We can agree, I hope, that this term 'ecumenism' cannot be applied in the case of the Christian church in this sense because here we are not called upon to evaluate an ideology in praxis and competition against other ideologies of the same kind pursuing the purpose of solving problems out of its particular code of moral and sociopolitical principles. Certainly, the churches, when they are meeting, reflecting, and acting together, intend to seek the solution to all of the problems (if possible) that contemporary states, societies, and individual human persons are facing. This, however, is not done out of a definite program of action resulting from an ideological stance. The background, on which ecumenism stands, is of a different nature. Christian faith, rooted in the Bible, cannot be used in this programmatic, ideological framework. Faith in action is entirely dependent on the collaboration between the transcending grace of God and human endeavor so as to act accordingly with all of its weaknesses and failures. A Christian cannot establish rules of action of an ideological nature by a self-sufficient system of ideas which offers solutions and definite guidance in the realm of crucial issues of contemporary humankind.

On the other hand, the term 'ecumenism,' denotes the decision, the existence, and the action of the churches linked together in one organization for the sake of their collaboration in view of their service in common to the world. Therefore, this term also expresses the presence and the diaconia of the churches in this area of ideological struggles with the intention of helping people to solve their problems. We speak, therefore, of 'ecumenism' in the sense that there is a kind of a general mode of existence of Christians and churches that think and act together, regardless of their confessional differences, on the basis of Christian faith. This faith is, by its nature, communal, unifying them in a new fellowship, leading them to all kinds of dynamic and concerted action in the service of all men and in the whole world.

Ecumenism covers and expresses the basic existential approach to the Gospel message at all times and in all places. It cannot be bound by a system or by an inflexible, authoritarian, and self-centered organization. It cannot be exhausted by a set of fixed principles demanding easy obedience and conformity, either. It is, by its nature, a perpetual and diversified movement ranging from the response to God's calling to be one, to the efforts to serve in all situations in the world which seek moral or material support to face urgent situations of injustice, exploitation, and multiform discrimination as incompatible phenomena with the same Gospel.

That is why we have a variety of expressions of ecumenism. These are different forms, but of the one and the same movement. Historically, this is true because we have received ecumenism from movements entirely independent from each other at the beginning of the ecumenical era: from world Christian youth and student organizations, from missionary

societies, from conferences of dogmatic or moral theologians, and from Christian social thinkers and activists as well. All of these movements had in common: first, the interchurch and interconfessional composition in their membership; second, their devotion to the mandate of the one Christian faith to share together in one church fellowship; and third, the belief that Christians thinking and acting together become more capable of a better and fuller ministry to the Gospel.

The existence of all of these different kinds of movements, which still exist today and are multiplying daily in different forms, does not mean that there are many kinds of ecumenisms or ecumenical movements which share in these three fundamental principles. They are simply different modes of existence and of action with their being and nature grounded within the same biblical pattern and which serve the same purpose indicated by the essence and the heart of the Gospel message. For all of these movements, to be a Christian signifies to exist and act ecumenically. It means to respond to the calling of God, to serve—a continuous process of unification of the Church which is but one in her nature. It means to work for a continuous renewal of her life and to collaborate with Christians of other church traditions in serving the world in all of its struggles to restore justice and freedom, maintain peace, and help foster authentic progress through culture and science.

In other words, ecumenism, by its pluralistic forms, points to and serves the one ecumenical movement. We definitely, therefore, have to admit that there is but one ecumenical movement, if we hold fast to its biblical and church origins and to the fact that a Christian cannot exist outside an ecclesial tradition. Nor can there be a Christian movement without church adherence. This oneness is the necessary outcome and consistent implication of the fact that all of the different forms of ecumenism try to conform with the essence of the Christian Gospel which cannot be but one, and for the one world created by the one God who wants all men to share in the one body of Christ by the one Spirit. Ecumenism in its many forms cannot but be one as one ecumenical movement because its origin, its function, and its purpose is the objective reality of church oneness. Further, it operates as one God-given fellowship of faith to Him who is one, and it tries to fulfill God's mandate to become one and thus share in His renewing operation of the Spirit of all things in His one creation.

This position implies the acceptance of a concrete expression of the one ecumenical movement because it would be erroneous to conceive only this oneness in God in an entirely transcendental way without an incarnate, imminent form of expression of this oneness. The one ecumenical movement cannot be identified with an abstract idea which is grasped occasionally by some exemplary forms. This kind of idealism should be defeated.

The historical process of ecumenism indicates indirectly a normal pro-

cess of development which culminates in a visible form of manifestation of this oneness in our times. It is a normal development because all of the different forms of ecumenism have been associated with a church or confessional heritage. Consequently, they led to an interchurch fellowship. It is in this interchurch fellowship that one sees both the origin and the purpose of ecumenism in the one ecumenical movement.

These remarks do not have the intention of supporting the idea that there are no other forms of ecumenism outside the churchly bound ecumenical movement. On the contrary, this ecumenism presupposes the many manifestations of ecumenism which have preceded it, and it inspires, as well, other ecumenical expressions of different forms. They recognize their inner and inseparable relationship out of the fact that there is one ecumenical movement with a strong and unshaken church nature and function, for there is no Christian existing who is non-ecclesial, i.e., churchly bound, for very evident reasons which belong to the essence of Christian faith, which by nature is communal and, therefore, ecclesial.

There are several types of ecumenisms centering around the one church-centered ecumenical movement. The creation of the World Council of Churches represents this normal development from the independent forms of ecumenism grounded in the same biblical principles of the Christian faith in general to the one church-centered ecumenical movement.

The One Ecumenical Movement and the World Council of Churches

In this context, the W.C.C. represents the central focus of church ecumenism, as well as the independent ecumenical efforts of different kinds. The W.C.C. does not monopolize ecumenism, but it enacts and makes manifest the one and main essence of ecumenism. Its principles are not entirely identical with any particular church tradition or confession, but all of the churches can accept them as their own, acting in the one ecumenical movement and feeling themselves part of it on an equal footing. Certainly, each church tradition can participate and speak and act following its own interpretation and practise of these principles, thus making its own particular contribution to the one ecumenical movement. But the W.C.C., at this moment, is the unique effort for a global expression of this one church-centered ecumenical movement with all of its limitations and deficiencies as far as its structure and function are concerned.

The W.C.C. is not a centralized organization, but a fellowship of churches. The value of its being a representative and active agency of the one ecumenical movement is due to the life of its member churches. Their response to the ecumenical calling, resulting from their faithfulness to the Gospel, makes the W.C.C. their instrument for expressing their

participation in the one ecumenical movement through a church fellowship.

It is true that modern ecumenism reflected a kind of Western European idealism in its early days in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. It is also evident, as in other areas of internationalization at this time in history, that it is the result of the influence of Western Christian humanism on the understanding of its world-wide impact and mission. It can be admitted, to a certain extent, that the "pioneers of the ecumenical movement had their spiritual roots in the period between 1890 and 1914 at a time of expansion of the Western world and of a rising world culture of Western origin."¹ We can also admit that there was, at the time of origin, a kind of idealistic trend and optimistic attitude regarding Western Christian culture and progress, i.e., that it was of world-wide value, to be expanded to be at the service of world history and humankind. "Western influence and Western power are extended into the whole world, and a new internationalism has been established inasmuch as Western goods, values, and ideas are spread throughout the whole earth."² There was a kind of Western concept of universalism which gave rise to an easy, uncritical, and unreflected creation of a "Western educated and formed oriental gentleman."³ In this sense, ecumenism can be regarded in its beginnings as being, also, to a certain extent, part of the general movement of "Pax Atlantica" or "Pax Occidentalis" which gave the background, also, for similar movements on an international political and cultural scale during the same period of time and prefigured their rapid growth and expansion after 1920.

It becomes, thus, a bit easier to explain how within this kind of Christian-humanistic universalism church leaders, belonging to church traditions which for centuries had emphasized particularism and subjectivity, focused their attention on universalism and world unity during this period of history. Certainly, the first decades of enthusiasm and optimism have been followed by the recent decades of disillusionment and frustration as forecasts and daring plans seemed gradually to become utopias.

Ecumenism went through this development which we usually neglect to study. There was a kind of inspiration of this sort at the beginning, and it was, in the early years, embodied in the formation of the W.C.C. But at the same time, the insistence of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to back the formation of a fellowship of churches as a counterpart of the League of Nations, the serious theological work deriving from the contributions of Eastern Orthodox ecclesiology, the Christocentric, dialectic

¹ This remark was made by J.A. Hebly, "Die ökumenische Bewegung im Wandel ihrer historischen Perspektiven," in *Ökumenische Rundschau*, 4 (1979), p. 423.

² Ibid., p. 425.

³ The expression belongs to G. Barraclough, *An Introduction to Contemporary History* (1974), p. 61, quoted by J.A. Hebly, *Ökumenische Rundschau*, 4 (1979), p. 427.

tical Western theology, the concern of the international missionary movement to give a platform to the younger churches of African and Asian origin, and the resulting interest of the churches to overcome together their links with colonialism and racial discrimination led to the establishment and growth of a W.C.C. which little by little liberated itself from its remote, unilateral, cultural origins.

The so-called crisis of the W.C.C. during these recent years which has caused the easy criticism addressed against some of its decisions and actions, especially in the sociopolitical realm, as well as the disappearance of big and imposing ecumenical personalities and leaders like those of the first generation of ecumenists, has to be explained by its gradual change towards a more world-wide and multicultural, ecumenical fellowship of Western and Eastern, as well as Northern and Southern churches. In reality, there is nothing negative in this sort of crisis, but rather a sign of maturity and authenticity regarding the ecumenicity of the W.C.C. On the contrary, this crisis indicates that Eastern and younger churches, as member churches, also become a central focus of the W.C.C. fellowship, and they can act in full equality with their Western partners. Optimistic visions are not easy anymore; and plans for studies and action have to go through the approval and the test of a vastly expanded, universal fellowship with its extreme variety of Christian experience, of urgent problems and requests, and of a critical stance against some unilateral attitudes deriving from a limited cultural background. The W.C.C. world-wide church fellowship—not as an institution located in Geneva—has to progress through such crisis, also.

Another reason for another kind of crisis is due to the fact that new ecumenisms are spread out today disassociating themselves from the church-centered ecumenical movement. They are impatient and they try to hurry the way toward Christian unity by denying formal church structures, notwithstanding the fact that the church fellowship of the W.C.C., with its serious theological work, has made the road to unity more difficult.

Appropriate expansion of the fellowship, by including new cultures and strengthening theological and ecclesiological trends, makes the life of the W.C.C. more difficult. But this is a necessary and healthy process.

Two of the most striking events, for instance, in this respect, which contributed to accentuating in a positive way this kind of progress in ecumenism, were: first, the entrance after 1961 into full membership of the rest of Eastern Orthodoxy, which represented the largest number of members, following the example of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople which had been, from the beginning, one of its main founding churches; second, the fact that the Roman Catholic Church took, for the first time, a positive attitude towards ecumenism and especially towards the W.C.C., accepting it as a movement of the Holy Spirit and as a privileged instrument of the ecumenical movement.

The Second Vatican Council especially created a new situation for ecumenism by putting forward principles of ecumenism and by initiating a series of dialogues with other church traditions separately. The creation of a Joint Working Group to secure the method of collaboration between Rome and the W.C.C. was necessary, while the Roman Catholic participation in all of the activities of the W.C.C. grew more and more in the 70s and official Roman Catholic membership in Faith and Order has been fully realized. Early in the last decade, upon the request of Pope Paul VI, a group of theologians appointed by the Joint Working Group, after a long and careful study, submitted to the pope and the Central Committee of the W.C.C. a detailed paper expressing the opinion of Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant theologians, specialists on ecumenism, that Roman Catholic full membership in the W.C.C. was ecclesiologically and methodologically practical, possible, and recommended.

Of course, the full, consistent and dynamic participation of the whole of Orthodoxy in ecumenism, as it is represented by the W.C.C. fellowship, and the rise of ecumenical interest of the Roman Catholic Church are promising factors of ecumenical advance in the future. It is evident that there cannot be several church-bound ecumenisms—a Protestant, a Roman Catholic, and an Orthodox, for instance. There can be particular interpretations of the same ecumenical principles and a special contribution on the part of each big ecclesiastical tradition, but not three or four ecumenical movements. The fact that the W.C.C. headquarters is located in Calvinist Geneva does not mean, or should not mean, that this represents a Reformed ecumenism and, consequently, Rome, Constantinople, Moscow, or London should request their own centers of the ecumenical movement. All places should be regarded as centers of the ecumenical movement, and Geneva is only the place of the executive, functional operation of the one ecumenical movement.

It is rather certain that if tomorrow the Roman Catholic Church officially joins the W.C.C. as a member and the Orthodox take their membership in the W.C.C. seriously, new and more difficult crises will occur other than those which have already occurred as a result of its expansion up to now. Perhaps, by the full entrance of the Roman Catholic Church into the fellowship of the W.C.C., great structural changes have to take place; but the alternative to the present crisis is not a new Roman Catholic ecumenism succeeding the so-called Protestant one, but the strengthening, through new means, methods, and secretariates, of the W.C.C. fellowship, representing the one ecumenical movement in the process of becoming more representative and authentic.

If there is now one possible vision for the coming decade of the 80s for ecumenism based on the objective reality of ecumenical events of the last decade and on our experience of them, combined with imagination and intuition, this should be an enlarged ecumenical fellowship with full

Roman Catholic participation, without which one cannot speak of a full ecumenical movement. This is wishful thinking, of course, but it is also a necessary request and a 'must' for those who want to see all fundamental elements of church tradition and existence represented in the one ecumenical movement on equal footing through the fellowship of the W.C.C. This development cannot be provoked by a W.C.C. action or special invitation because the W.C.C. is not a closed system or institution. It must remain open to newcomers who adhere to the principles of the one ecumenical movement that it tries to enact. The W.C.C. fellowship, therefore, has to remain open and welcome this membership in the belief that an ecumenical church fellowship is always on the way to completion and fulfillment of its being. It is always in progress and on the move to becoming what it was intended to be, and to changing structures and function as this proves to be necessary for realizing its purpose. The W.C.C. is no one's property and privilege. It belongs to the one ecumenical movement as it is continuously and progressively shaped by the member churches of which it is composed.

Bilateral Conversations and Local Ecumenism

The decade of the 70s can be designated as the decade of the intensification of the interconfessional dialogue between two church traditions. This is also a normal development caused by the fellowship of churches within the one ecumenical movement. It makes the movement towards the restoration of the unity of the church concrete and makes the dialogue easier and more effective towards this end.

There should not be any discrepancy and opposition between a global church fellowship as that of the W.C.C. and the bilateral conversations. In no case can they be misused as alternatives to this fellowship. They have to be regarded, on the contrary, as indispensable new steps for making this fellowship more present and fruitful and for leading to concrete new steps.

In reality, there is no pure and isolated bilateral conversation. If it is true that they are inspired by the one ecumenical church fellowship, they have, as their most important service, to contribute, by their work, to the progress and the growth of this fellowship. Very rightly, the recently published report by the Faith and Order Secretariate, following a meeting of the representatives of bilateral conversations, including almost all of the main church traditions involved in these conversations, points to the cross relationships between all bilateral conversations and requests, "a vital interaction between bilateral and multilateral conversations on the same subject as broadly as possible."⁴

This will become possible—and this is my vision for the coming

⁴ Report from the Second Forum on Bilateral Conversations. Faith and Order paper 79/14, June 1979, p. 7.

decade—if in the bilateral dialogues observers of other confessional families, outside the two partners involved in the conversation, are always invited to participate, and if they reflect seriously and honestly upon the possible contributions of their findings to the general development of the one ecumenical movement. The coming decade is definitely the decade of the involvement of the churches, in this sense I hope, in bilateral church dialogues.

In this connection, one should refer to another area of ecumenism, appearing more and more as a necessary complementary kind of ecumenical action. I mean the so-called local ecumenism. This type of ecumenical activity should be regarded in isolation, also, or as an alternative to the integral, ecumenical fellowship. Again, this is the most self-evident and welcomed result of a healthy ecumenism. Perhaps, one of the most serious failures of the ecumenical movement is precisely the very weak existence or, in some cases, the total absence of local ecumenism.

It is true that ecumenism remained too much of an interconfessional affair practised on an international scale through world assemblies and conferences involving an elite representation from the local churches. We cannot be so satisfied with the effects of this type of ecumenism on the local level where, however, it should have its main focus. Most of the churches remember the ecumenical movement only when they have to send their representatives abroad to represent them in an interconfessional conference. And these conferences remain, in most of the cases, without a follow-up for the member churches on the local level.

Here we touch upon one of the most complicated and difficult issues when we try to envisage the future of ecumenism during the coming decade—because we have to admit that there is a serious gap of ecumenical activities; first, between the Geneva headquarters of the temporary, specialized professionals of ecumenism and the reality of ecumenism in each place locally; and second, between the ecumenists of a church acting internationally but remaining inactive locally. Those who have served in both situations have had a very bitter experience in this respect. The churches are entirely occupied by their daily routine work and their current problems. Their leadership usually has no time to spare for organizing local ecumenism, which thus remains only an international affair, i.e., without its normal and main focus.

In some other cases, the major powerful churches feel entirely self-sufficient dogmatically, culturally, and economically and disregard minor churches, which in their turn are afraid to be absorbed by the major ones. At the same time, the big churches are afraid to give importance to the minor ones by establishing a local ecumenical council where they can sit on equal footing. The minor churches, in turn, are reluctant to accept the importance of securing their freedom in evangelistic action. There are, also, in other places strong prejudices persisting as a heritage

of the past of hostile relationships between big confessional families where the ecumenical movement cannot achieve yet the slightest possibility of existence.

We realize more and more that there is no ecumenical movement without its reality in the local situation. What a local church is is a complicated ecclesiological subject, and I do not want to enter into this debate now.⁵ But at least we can admit that, ecumenically, all member churches of the ecumenical fellowship, having accepted the ecumenical principles of this fellowship, potentially share in it. My vision for the coming decade is that the need for local ecumenism will become urgent for all of the churches. It is only through the establishment of local ecumenical councils that ecumenism can progress further. The isolated internationalism in ecumenical affairs will further weaken during the 80s. We badly need a concerted local church action to follow up consistently on the world-wide, interconfessional movement on an international level. Without it ecumenism risks losing its credibility and convincing power.

As a matter of fact, there is more and more evidence of a radical and independent ecumenical movement disassociated from the immediate supervision of local church authorities which tries to fill this gap. This is a reasonable alternative to the absence of official church initiatives. Young people especially, for some years now since the 70s, have been attracted to a non-church structured ecumenism. Church-centered ecumenism is put under criticism on the part of those who are seeking something new and dynamic which can satisfy their deep desire for interconfessional and international Christian fellowship locally.

This is a very educational event in the life of the organized historical churches, though it alarms and confuses those engaged in church-centered ecumenism. In the 80s, this will be one of the most acute issues for the church discipline and authority of all confessions without exception. Of course, the effect of this issue on the churches will vary in degrees, depending upon their understanding of the nature of the church and the function of their authority. What will make the issue more complicated is the fact that in most of the cases these independent ecumenical groups are combined with charismatic movements which are also growing because of the lack of consistent pneumatological thinking and praxis within the life of the historical churches, since they are strictly structured in a pyramidal way. The absence of a theology of the Holy Spirit, or of exceptional actions within the organized church community, and the lack of enthusiasm in practising faith through inflexible church structures has created the empty space where these movements are thriving. Certainly, one should not admit all kinds of extravagant, momentary excitements of Christian self-created groups because the Holy Spirit blows where it

⁵ See the paper of Leslie Newbigin, "What Is a Local Church United?" in *Growing Together into Unity*, ed. C.S. Song (1978), p. 149-64.

wills. The Paraclete cannot justify all centrifugal Christian groups requesting total independence from the existing patterns and seeking to advance ecumenism by simply ignoring the serious ecclesiological differences or minimizing them to a non-existing status. This attitude does not fully represent the one ecumenical movement. But in some cases it is the only point of contact that churches can establish with the great numbers of contemporary youth.

My vision for the next decade, in this respect, is a hopeful establishment of relationships between the church communities with these charismatic groups locally. Concern for this growing phenomenon of emancipated ecumenism on an international level must also become one of the most serious concerns of the whole church-centered, ecumenical movement. This concern should favor local ecumenism in an authentic way with these movements as partners and lead towards the renewal of church life during the coming decade.

Progressing in Church Unity through Theological Consensus

If we study carefully the developments in the short history of the ecumenical movement during the twentieth century, we can trace three successive stages in ecumenical theological work, especially as it is expressed through the Faith and Order movement. The first can be characterized as a period of comparative theological work during which churches have insisted upon knowing each other and have experienced their theological differences by studying their respective theologies and sharing mutually in their worship. The second can be defined as a period of constructive encounter between theologies for the sake of investigating the truth. It is a period of a kind of apologetic attitude *sui generis*, deprived of polemic attitudes within the climate of the existing fellowship. The third stage into which we have entered more clearly since the 1974 Accra Assembly of the Commission on Faith and Order can be entitled a stage of theological consensus. Certainly, these three stages have been in existence right from the beginning of the ecumenical movement and still coexist at the present moment and will continue to exist together in the coming years. But the emphasis has been successively put in a clearer way on one of them and in this sequence, more or less. It is, indeed, evident, and one has to welcome it as a hopeful sign, that in the next decade the consensus method will dominate ecumenical theological work.

'Consensus' in this context has to be understood in positive and constructive terms. It is the final outcome of the close relationship and intercourse between the life of the churches that one shares within the fellowship of churches. It is the experience that one acquires through this mutual participation. It means the interpretations of confessions through this experience following a theological existential involvement. Consen-

sus, deriving from *consentire*, in this sense, is an act of approval and positive appreciation of one another's church confessional stance wherever a common biblical and church tradition is made manifest. The church's confession of faith does not consist primarily in a number of articles which can be listed. It expresses the experience of the church called into existence by the Spirit and lived in continuity with the apostles and their teachings."⁶

Consensus, in other words, does not mean a superficial amalgamation of different confessions for the sake of reaching agreement. It does not mean withdrawal from our confessional positions to facilitate theological ecumenical dialogue either. It is a positive evaluation of converging lines and attitudes of confessional theologies in the light of the apostolic tradition which thus becomes their one unifying factor. It is only after the recognition of such converging lines that the elaboration of possible agreement can begin, but it will begin through a positive reciprocal affirmation.

This understanding does not necessarily lead to new credal forms. The differences in expression persist and the confessional formulations continue to differ greatly, but through this kind of consensus, "the churches are using more and more a common language."⁷ This theological attitude provokes interest for a reformulation of the one, common, apostolic witness and faith which is experienced under the different confessional formulations. That is why, without inspiring the slightest intention to create new symbols or confessions of faith, this spirit of theological consensus facilitates new attempts to express with a common language the one apostolic witness. The churches, as members of a fellowship of prayer, life and study, are challenged by a consensus theology to more deeply appreciate the one, apostolic tradition in which all are sharing.

The ancient symbols and confessions of faith are regaining their unshaken authority and value, while the need for new forms of confessing acts is essential if one admits and experiences that there is a common tradition of confessing as a continuous process which cannot be exhausted by one written confession of faith. There are new events in the life of the churches which need to be expressed with a new kind of formulation underlining the converging lines in the one, apostolic faith more than the diverging attitudes recorded in historical confessional disputes. Consensus means that love is the prerequisite of truth for a church conciliar fellowship.

In this sense, confessions, as confessing acts, are not the exclusive affair of theologians. They can reflect and suggest new formulations, but the churches are the authoritative carriers and promoters of this act of

⁶ Report on bilateral conversations, p. 4.

⁷ "Growing Together into Unity," Faith and Order paper 79/14, p. 85.

continuous confessing within a new situation of mutual recognition that expresses their one, apostolic witness in common. The 'confessions,' as written documents and as churches apart, have to be "broken through in order that the tradition of the Church might become one inspiration in common for them."⁸

This fresh understanding and practise of consensus as a new continuous act of confessing together has led Faith and Order to initiate a new study of the sacraments of baptism, Eucharist, and ministry. New consensus formulations expressing the one, apostolic tradition are suggested to the churches by groups of theologians belonging to different traditions, and the churches are criticizing and commenting on them. It is very encouraging to study these responses and reactions of the churches. Old traditional disputes which have been crystallized in scholastic terminology for serving a polemic apologetic purpose and for distinguishing one church from the other are now reinterpreted in a new way, seeking what lies behind them as a uniting factor.⁹ The burning issues of the continuity of church tradition and the necessary signs expressing it, the central place and role of the ordained ministry and of the apostolic succession in community and personal forms, the affirmation of the real presence of the Lord in the eucharistic elements, the act of 'episcopate' as a common characteristic in all of the churches, the central place of the invocation of the Holy Spirit in all of the three sacraments (*epiklesis*), and of the Eucharist for the whole of church life, and many other converging lines, express the desire of the very great majority of the churches to advance further on this consensus road, endorsing a new language for reaffirming their origin in common in the one, apostolic tradition.

Certainly, we should not fall into an easy and optimistic approach to possible future developments in this crucial and central ecumenical new experiment. Possible visions of forthcoming new positive steps by the churches in this area should not lead us to any premature notions of triumph. There are still churches that refuse this kind of ecumenical theological methodology. There are others who regard themselves as non-confessional churches¹⁰ for keeping their full identity tightly only with the one, undivided Church. There are others, especially the younger

⁸ Lukas Vischer, "Ein ökumenisches Glaubensbekenntnis?" in *Synthese*, p. 559.

⁹ See "Presentation of the Response in Growing Together into Unity," Faith and Order paper 79/14, pp. 100-38.

¹⁰ The Report of the Orthodox Consultation (Valamo, Finland, September 1977), p. 19. "The Orthodox, if they are faithful to their ecclesiology, will have to deny the identification of the Church with a particular confession." *The New Valamo Consultation*, ed. W.C.C. (Geneva, 1978), p. 19. Of course, here the schismatic role of 'confessions' beginning with new churches is meant and not the task of the church to formulate its faith when this proves to be necessary. Rightly so, Olivier Clément writes, commenting on this point of the report: "if the canonical structures in which the unity of the Universal Church should be expressed are ignored, does not the eucharistic ecclesiology become utopian?" Faith and Order paper 79/14, p. 25.

churches, that refuse to accept the ancient creeds as authoritative because they view them as culturally conditioned. Difficulties of all kinds persist, but one is sure that confessionalism in the future will be definitely overcome and the seeking of the expression of the one, apostolic faith will prevail in the coming decade of ecumenical theological work. As it has been rightly observed: "the time of conclusive action in reciprocal recognition and growing mutual fellowship must now begin...thinking ecumenically means overcoming schismatic thinking."¹¹

Examples of this type of meta- or trans-confessional and ecumenically oriented theology, based on the experience of church fellowship in modern ecumenism, are more and more numerous and convincing. Theological positions which have been regarded as stumbling blocks to unity and absolutely divisive doctrines are now jointly examined in a new constructive way in this spirit of consensus. Two recent examples are first, the reinterpretation of the pope's ministry of primacy between Roman Catholic and Evangelical theologians with the intention of discovering together its positive ecumenical implications once this doctrine is placed in the appropriate historical and theological context;¹² and second, the study of the *filioque* between theologians of the main church traditions from East and West with the intention of pointing out the theological explanation of the difference, once the whole affair of introducing it in the West into the Nicene Creed in a unilateral and, therefore, unjustified way has been cleared and defeated.¹³

Following these positive developments in recent years, one is justified in expecting a continuation of this new method on a larger scale and measure in the decade of the 80s. What we have the right to expect for the sake of further progress on the way to church unity is that the interpenetration of Eastern and Western theological approaches in the W.C.C. will bear their fruits in the near future. Though one should not generalize because elements of Eastern theological trends and spirituality are to be found in the West and vice versa, there are distinguished special emphases on both sides which are now admitted and practised as equally legitimate within the one, apostolic tradition and, therefore, are complementary to each other. The Logos theology of Eastern Orthodoxy, for instance, as a theology of participation and communion in God's incarnate Word by the operation of the Holy Spirit with its particular emphasis on the resurrection and the glory of Christ (*theologia gloriae*) on the one hand, and the redemptive theology of Western Roman and

11 Jürgen Moltmann, *What Kind of Unity. The Dialogue between the Traditions of the East and West in Lausanne*, 1977, ed. W.C.C. (Geneva, 1978).

12 The conference, organized by the Univ. Ecum. Institutes, took place in Heidelberg in October 1977, and led to the publication of the very interesting volume, *Papstum als ökumenische Frage* (Munich, 1979).

13 Two successive meetings in Klingenthal near Strasbourg, sponsored by Faith and Order in October 1978 and May 1979.

Evangelical theology as a theology of grace and salvation with its particular emphasis on the cross and self-humiliation of Christ (theologia crucis) on the other hand, have to advance further in their necessary interpenetrations and mutual enrichment. It is only in this way that new presuppositions will be created in our conscience for enlarging our visions of the oneness in church life and theology, and specific issues of disagreements can then be faced easier through a mutual, deeper appreciation of one another's theological positions. Mystical, as well as prophetic, liturgical and kerygmatic, eschatological and historical theologies have to converge and unite us in our general disposition for theologizing before we attack particular theological subjects.

This is especially necessary as we have to deal more concretely with the nature of the church unity we seek during the coming decade in which we have already entered. The fifth General Assembly of the W.C.C. at Nairobi in 1975, in accordance with its section 2, has declared that "the one Church is to be envisioned in a conciliar fellowship of local churches which are themselves truly united," phrasing in this way the dominating notion of unity in the 70's. "Conciliar fellowship" has been the term used to describe the togetherness of the Church with an ecclesiological content and the way to unity, though the same document admits that "true conciliar fellowship presupposes the unity of the Church."

In the immediate future we shall have to deal with three interdependent notions of the unity we seek, representing current trends among the churches on this subject: (1) "the organic union" requesting unity in faith and structure with identical ministry giving up all kinds of confessional particular identities; (2) the "unity in reconciled diversity" admitting that essential church traditions would be retained in a family of churches recognizing one another as full members of the Church and living together in reconciliation; and (3) "conciliar fellowship of churches" which envisages an "essential unity of the local churches in belief, baptism, Eucharist, and mutual recognition of ministries which finds expression in authorized representation of the churches in a council, which can take valid decisions for all represented."¹⁴

A vision of the continuation of the work on the unity of the church should exclude absolutizing one of these three concepts. They are not mutually exclusive but inclusive and correlated. It has been appropriately observed that "the organic unity we seek is that of a conciliar fellowship of local churches authentically one,"¹⁵ and it can be added that a conciliar fellowship needs the presupposition of a reconciled community

¹⁴ Quotations are from a recent publication in which one can find more detailed description: "Alive to the World in the Power of the Holy Spirit," Theological Preparatory Document for the Conference of European Churches, 18-25 of October 1979 in Crete, Greece, ed. C.E.C. (Geneva, 1979), p. 40-42.

¹⁵ Pierre Duprey, "The Unity We Seek" in *Growing Together into Unity*, Faith and Order paper 79/14, p. 128.

which keeps diverse forms and that it presupposes a structural unity of the one attribute to 'organic union.'

In the near future we have to enter into more detailed clarification of the necessary steps to be taken for pointing out this kind of coherence of the three trends of conceptualized unity. We now badly need the exchange of Catholic-Orthodox with Protestant-Evangelical models of unity. We have to declare clearly whether or not we do work for a visible unity in faith and order and propose the necessary elements of achieving it. The isolated act of intercommunion is not the one and only sufficient step towards unity. Certainly, as a Roman Catholic theologian has observed, "Unity in faith is not necessarily the same thing as identical expression of that faith."¹⁶ One should not seek verbal and functional conformity and identity. It is, however, imperative that during the next decade we all advance together in proclaiming and admitting a demarcation line of what we must endorse in common for securing a clearer way towards unity, and what can be accepted as legitimate difference. It is in this way that we have to approach, with a new spirit, controversial issues such as the episcopacy, apostolic succession, the ministry and its role as a uniting factor, church authority and its spokesmen, etc.

In this future debate we must get rid of traditional cadres and frameworks that afford us a security ground and investigate our common, solid, and given background of the one, apostolic tradition in unbroken continuity which is preserved in the historic churches that accept the basic sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and Eucharist performed by a specially appointed ministry. This work has already been started, as indicated above, by Faith and Order in the W.C.C. with full support of all of the major church communions. There is nothing that can prevent its continuation. Further growth can be expected in the coming ten years.

The Orthodox have to contribute by their eucharistic, charismatic and eschatological concept of the Church more intensively new flexible ways of interpreting the scholastic disputes of the Middle Ages. Problems, recently making their appearance and threatening the fellowship of the churches, should be discussed with an open mind in this context. For example, the problem of the ordination of women should not be treated as a tabu question, bearing in mind that the Orthodox need to restore their old tradition of ordaining deaconesses. This implies a reinterpretation of this praxis theologically for our present situation within the new social setting and relationships.

Ecumenism as Renewal and Dynamic Church Presence in the World

Certainly, church unity remains one of the primary objectives of the W.C.C. church fellowship. Against all kinds of criticisms of the W.C.C.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 129.

for relegating this objective to a secondary place after the Fourth Assembly at Uppsala (1968), the Fifth Assembly in Nairobi (1975) reaffirmed this objective as primary in Article 3 of the revised constitution of the W.C.C. and added the biblical phrase, "that the world may believe."¹⁷ This indicates that unity is the central focus of ecumenism, but not an end in itself.

We have to investigate this centrality of the unity question and, at the same time, the negation of any kind of attitudes that present unity as a self-purpose of ecumenism as represented by the W.C.C. in order to focus our vision for the future on the right perspective. We have to make the following preliminary remarks towards this purpose:

(1) A self-propagated church unity, as a unique purpose of an inter-church fellowship, risks becoming a programmatic centralized movement which seeks power and convincing authority in the world out of its achievements. Church unity cannot become a convincing power for missionary purposes in the world. Church unity progresses only through self-humiliation and repentance. It cannot become a weapon for domination.

(2) The seeking of church unity is not for internal consumption and enjoyment of church fellowship. One cannot establish church unity and live forever with it for its own satisfaction. This beatitude has never and will never exist within a united church with a universal dimension. This would mean a total distortion of unity as continuously perfected by the Spirit towards the mature manhood of Christ, according to the Epistle to the Ephesians. Church unity is not of a static, self-relying nature, but of a growing movement. It is certainly always conceived on the solid basis of the one faith, one Lord, and one baptism.

(3) Church unity is a leaven, a nucleus, a *pars pro toto* of the unity of the whole of humankind. It concerns the unity of all. It has, therefore, a value only if it is in the service of this global, pan-human unity; and it proves to be true by its real contribution to its progressive realization. But unity of humankind is achieved through a continuous struggle for equality of all human persons, for the defeat, in the name of the Gospel, of discrimination of all kinds, racism, class mentality and separation, exploitation of the poor, etc. Church unity and unity of humankind are internally and inseparably connected, and the first wins its full justification only by serving the latter in this dynamic way. The W.C.C. rightly has launched this study, especially after Uppsala, and in this sense is striking new ways for a dynamic presence of the churches acting together as one reconciled fellowship within a divided and unjust world society.

Following these three remarks, we can now understand ecumenism

17 "The W.C.C is constituted for the following functions and purposes to call the Churches to the goal of visible unity in one faith and in one eucharistic fellowship expressed in worship and in common life in Christ, and to advance towards that unity in order that the world may believe."

in its main function as a unity factor in the contemporary world. It is through this approach that we can understand the so-called sociopolitical emphasis of the W.C.C. program of action, especially in the realm of racism and its study for a "just, sustainable and participatory society." It is also in this perspective of the diakonia of church unity to humankind's unity that we can consciously accept to make visions of ecumenism in the future.

In the deeper theological understanding of unity is implied the concern for unity of all and the struggle in the world. It is not simply and only the task of the Church that obliges us to be active in human liberation efforts, in scientific development, in contribution to the human enterprise for advancing into a just and participatory society. It belongs to the essence of church unity conceived in the right perspective and applied with consistency and faithfulness to the Gospel. The Eastern Orthodox approach which insists that the unity we seek, as expressed and adopted by a Western theologian, Jürgen Moltmann, "is the unity of the Triune God so that we may reflect that endless love which binds the Father to the Son and us, through the Son with the Father...because the sending of the Holy Spirit inspires our quest and makes our hearts restless until they find rest in the trinitarian unity of God."¹⁸ The Western Evangelical Protestant approach emphasizes, as the basis of church unity, Christ's prayer for unity, understood as high priestly prayer because it is addressed to the Father in view of His laying down His own life on the cross. Therefore, "this unity is experienced under the cross, i.e., in common struggle and in common suffering... In the prisons of dictatorships all over the world today, the Church is experienced in a real way...the Church is one in Christ's sacrifice for the many, and through its devotion in witness and struggle it is united afresh."¹⁹ Quoting the phrase of the World Conference in Faith and Order in Lund 1952, "as we draw closer to the cross, we come closer to one another," he concludes in this way: "in the Protestant theology of the cross, the Orthodox theology of the Eucharist or the Catholic theology of the paschal mystery, we already find a strong measure of convergence and deep community."²⁰

In other words, the so-called sociopolitical action of the ecumenical movement is not a kind of revolutionary attitude due to the desire to politicize the Christian message or to make politics for the sake of politics of a special trend. It is the essence of the church unity we seek. Its progress and realization takes place in the midst of this world of ideological splits, of suffering, of exploitation, of discrimination, of dangerous and unreflected production and consumption, of unilateral technology and technical progress, of the poisoning of the air, and the

¹⁸ *What Kind of Unity? The Dialogue between the Traditions of the East and West in Lausanne 1977*, in *Growing Together into Unity*. Faith and Order Paper 79/14, p. 142.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 143.

polluting of the waters.

My hope and vision for the near future is that we focus church unity in ecumenism in this deeper theological way. Both sociopolitical activists-ecumenists and their conservative opponents in the Church must understand equally that this action has a sense and justification not in itself as 'politics,' but in Christ's death and resurrection, in the essence of the trinitarian God and His unity. It is, therefore, offered as a service of church unity to the unity of all and in solidarity with the suffering of humankind under the cross, and in the light of the Resurrection. It is imperative that during this coming decade a deepening takes place in the theological meaning of the unity we seek to defeat the two extremist attitudes of unreflected sociopolitical activism in the name of the churches on the one hand, and of unjustified criticism of church people against this self-evident biblical notion of church unity rooted in Christ's death and resurrection on the other.

It is on the same biblical and theological basis that we have also to understand the concern of the W.C.C. for "Faith, Science and the Future" and not as one more pro-secularist kind of ecumenism. The big conference this last summer (in this same area of greater Boston) on this topic made it once more clear. Unity of the church includes also, by its nature, its concern for a just, participatory, and global society. Science and technology must be in the service of humankind's solidarity for the support of the needy, the sick, and for the real progress of humanity, i.e., science not threatening but promising our future. This dimension of ecumenical work will prove to be very crucial, necessary, and decisive in the coming decade. The young generation should not be left in the present frustration and agony regarding future scientific achievements, and scientists should be encouraged to continue their work as responsible collaborators of God in perfecting His creation and assisting humanity in its struggle for a better and more just society. In this development of ecumenical work there is a strong message of hope and concerted action in the future.

The recent study of Christian hope during the last decade by the Faith and Order Commission has reaffirmed in a new way both the essence of the unity we seek and the solidarity of church unity with humankind's unity in a deep theological way opening the decade of the 80s towards further constructive work. The subject, "Giving Account of the Hope that Is in Us," represents, first, an approach to unity transcending confessional divisions by the biblical hope as the essence of our conferring act in the world. And second, it is the most profound theological way of linking church unity with the struggles of the world for unity by sharing in the hopes of humankind.²¹ Hope, as the essence of Christian faith,

21 See Anticipation. No. 25, January 1979. W.C.C. Church and Society publication, especially "Christian Hope and the Natural Sciences" from the Commission on Faith and Order (Bangalore, India, 1978), p. 75 ff.

help us to qualify on a higher level our unity in the church transcending our confessional divisions. Hope, as the essence of the message of the risen Christ, is also the main element of solidarity with the struggles of all of our fellowmen for overcoming division, war, and injustice.²²

This dynamic concept and practise of unity has to be developed further in the 80s. My hopeful vision dares to make the forecast that the churches shall decide more consciously to work together for unity in this dynamic sense because it becomes clearer every day that our modern society will develop further in the next few years as a global and participatory society. The younger generation will fight further against all kinds of authoritarian social and economic systems. It will be a decade of great contestations of all kinds. I can call this development radical social humanism and humanistic socialism. It has already, as an unwritten ideology, captured the minds of the great masses of students and youth in many traditional Christian, as well as Islamic societies, and acts as an alternative to, or is identical with, religious belief. "Participation calls for a recognition of everybody's right to be consulted, to be heard and understood whatever their political, economic or social status may be in society. Everyone must be involved in planning and action, giving as well as receiving. Participation means that each takes the initiative in formulating or changing policies and becoming involved in directing their implementation."²³ In traditional Christian societies, where the Church has been accustomed to seeing her youth coming to her liturgies and following her teaching as something self-evident, an alarming disassociation and alienation has already started. Radical cases of opposition are already there.

The main reason for this is the substitution of traditional religious faith by a humanist-socialist activist attitude to support the creation of such a participatory society. My vision here is not so optimistic unless church people together understand their faith as a creative power and it is proclaimed to the young generation. I quote here Dr. Philip Potter: "Faith in the crucified and risen Lord, which means a radical break with a static understanding of our existence into dynamic living and daring God's future. To have faith is to hope and to act in hope through love. Such faith, hope, and love liberate us to struggle for a just, participatory, and sustainable society. That is our calling as Christians, and as scientists and technologists."²⁴ I should like to add: and as young revolutionaries acting towards a social humanism, also.

The above remarks signify, lastly and mainly, that a healthy ecumenism in the 80s will depend, for its authenticity, quality, self-

22 See for this double function of hope: "Sharing in One Hope." Commission on Faith and Order (Bangalore, India, 1978), W.C.C. publication 1979, p. 290.

23 Quoted from a paper presented at the Central Committee meeting of the W.C.C. in Kingston, Jamaica (1-8 Jan. 1979) by Philip Potter in *Ecumenical Review*, 31 (1979), 349.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 351.

identity, and credibility in the eyes of the coming generation, on the way it accentuates its principal essential characteristic, i.e., church unity growing in and through church renewal. Certainly, the other word for unity is church 'renewal.' Without it there is no hope for ecumenical progress during the next ten years. The churches, as institutional units in their greatest part and numbers, are confusing faithfulness to tradition with a static and sterile repetition of the past and a resistance to change in their structures, their terminology, and their confessional statements. They block the way to unity not because they fight against it—all churches want to be reunited, especially the most traditional ones who pray more than the liberal ones for this unity—but because their traditionalist leadership very often quenches the Spirit of God which is a spirit of continuous renewal of all: "Behold, all things are become new" (2 Cor 5.17). In the name of a wrongly understood Orthodoxy, they keep firm on given patterns, sacralizing religious habits, old-fashioned language, and pious terminology. They thus sacrifice the future dimension of renewal, of change, of fresh actions and ideas. The heart of modern ecumenism was right from its birth. But in the 80s there must be more church renewal in all realms of church life and theology. This will happen not to satisfy revolutionaries and progressists or to follow dynamic tactics, but because the one and most essential thing that churches reveal in common for themselves, when they meet together in the ecumenical movement, is that the essence of the Gospel for them and the world is and must always be *renewal*. When we think of the future of ecumenism and make visions about it, we must feel ourselves as entering into a process of honest and mutual self-criticism because we lack this deeper essence of ecumenical relationships. Without prophetic charisma the ecumenical movement has no future.

His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, who is rightly honored today as a church leader with a dynamic vision of ecumenism, has written in one of his essays, "The interpretation that we Christians give to the word 'tradition' is quite erroneous... We use the term 'tradition' interchangeably with the term 'traditions' and thus increase the existing confusion... I would recommend, therefore, a new historical and theological approach to the subject of tradition."²⁵

We, indeed, badly need a renewed understanding of tradition, especially in praxis, in all of the churches, but especially the Orthodox who are called the church of tradition. We usually oppose tradition to renewal and vice versa. It looks as if tradition signifies, for some of our faithful, conserving secondary elements of religiosity in a permanent static state, as though renewal denotes a denial of the past. In reality, however, tradition is the inner life of the apostolic church in unbroken continuity under all changing forms in the past, present, and future. It is

²⁵ Archbishop Iakovos Koukouzis, "The Contribution of Eastern Orthodoxy to the Ecumenical Movement," *Ecumenical Review*, 11 (1959), 402.

the existential decision of the community of faith to live in the same power of the Spirit in all places and at all times. It is a decision made at the present moment on the basis of the past and in view of the final fulfillment in the future. With tradition, in the Orthodox sense, we remember the past equally as well as the future. Our perspective is more oriented towards the future because of the final victory of the risen Lord who will come back at the end of time.

Therefore, tradition is the vehicle of renewal. Without renewal tradition denies itself. Without tradition there is no renewal but superficial change. Without renewal there is not tradition but a sterile repetition. Theologically, we must interchange the meaning of the two terms: tradition is and only exists as it has the sense of a renewing process, while renewal has meaning only as the power of tradition.

With this renewed understanding of tradition we can envisage the future of ecumenism. Because what is most necessary for us as we enter into the decade of the 80s is to prepare ourselves for decisive new steps in meeting each other on a new level, ready to renew our church life reciprocally but within the one, apostolic tradition of the one, undivided body of Christ.

In concluding, I could make the following remarks summarizing my vision for the next decade regarding the future of ecumenism. Certainly, we have to distinguish between what should be done from what can or may be done:

(1) The one ecumenical movement should be reaffirmed as church-centered, and the official membership of the Roman Catholic Church in it, in the form of a W.C.C., should be realized as it can be realized. But as some recent events indicate, our hopes and visions have to be limited and carefully formulated so as not to fall into a utopia vision.

(2) Local, independent, ecumenical initiatives should and will be further developed, and church authorities should take them into serious consideration if they want to keep in contact with vital dynamic movements in their areas.

(3) The theological consensus work should and will prove to be an efficient new method of approaching basic issues of confessional disagreements. One should expect major agreements for the first time on controversial issues of the four main sacraments.

(4) Bilateral conversations will dominate more and more ecumenical interest, especially among the big historical churches. It is to be hoped that this work will take place within the whole fellowship of the churches and, consequently, will not appear to be a substitution or an alternative to it. At the same time, it is also hoped that schemes of reunions among church communions, reestablishing sacramental communion, will be achieved, otherwise the ecumenical enterprise will lose further its credibility. Each church communion has to work for such conclusions in their conversations with their closer standing partners. For instance, as

an Orthodox, I can dare to make the optimistic vision that till the 90s such communion can be reestablished with the Oriental Orthodox Churches (Syrian, Coptic, American) finding a way out of the disagreement about the Fourth Ecumenical Synod in Chalcedon and on some secondary questions regarding church canonical structures. Also, I dare to hope that, perhaps more easily, communion could be reestablished with the Old Catholic Church and be further substantially advanced with the Anglican Church, seriously undertaken by the whole of Orthodoxy and not by different autocephalous churches separately and with the churches of the Reformation. Certainly, in the 80s the most important dialogue for the Orthodox will be the one with the Roman Catholic Church, but one cannot prejudge anything in this respect. There can be a rash and positive development, but there can also be a very unduly slow process if one starts with very broad subjects and follows scholastic methods of examination of the whole dogmatic context of the faith.

(5) The W.C.C. work will be, perhaps, apparently further weakened due to the growth of independent movements and of the direct bilateral negotiations. But at the same time, it will win in depth and conviction because first, the younger churches of Africa, Asia, and Latin America will make their presence and contributions more effective; second, the so-called sociopolitical involvement will be theologically grounded and justified as belonging to and being the self-evident outcome of the essence of the Gospel and of the Christian faith and not representing an involvement of the churches in politics; and third, the prophetic function of the fellowship of churches in times of world ideological splits, technological abuses, partial material progress, and lack of political and religious freedom will prove to be more and more necessary and urgent.

(6) Authoritarian interventions of church hierarchical synods and bodies in theology will become more frequent and immediate, as in the past decade, due to the fact of the further growth of renewal and consensus theologies as responses to the secularization process of modern societies. At the same time, one can foresee the creation of serious theological groups in each church trying to do their work in renewing theology and contributing to a future ecumenism which will not be immediately under the supervision of church authorities in some cases. In general, the renewal movements will be the main characteristics of the 80s. My hope is that church structures will not show a lack of flexibility in this respect, but that they shall try to make more and more space for the sake of their renewed active and appropriate presence in their world environment, which is going to become more and more culturally and ideologically emancipated.

These remarks should not create a kind of pessimism as we find ourselves on the threshold of a new decade. I hope that they are convincing of one thing only: that the coming years will be decisive for ecumenical work during a critical transitory period in world history and

church relations. Therefore, they will be exciting years for those who will have the chance to be called by God to share in this ecumenical venture. Their hope must grow in all kinds of future crisis—because the ecumenical movement usually grows in and through crisis. If they work honestly and openly, rooted in the one faith in Christ, the Holy Spirit will lead ecumenism to a better future and grant them His best fruit, i.e., joy, because they will be servants of the Paraklete's first and supreme operation and manifestation—the progressive union of all and a world fellowship through church communion.

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EDWARD J. KILMARTIN

VISIONS OF THE FUTURE OF ECUMENISM

Introduction

When the planners of this symposium asked me to speak on the topic, "Visions of the Future of Ecumenism," I readily accepted the invitation because of its timely significance for the life of the Church. There was also the added motivation, for this symposium honors Archbishop Iakovos whom I have come to know from thirteen years of personal contact to be truly an apostle of the ecumenical movement. It is a personal privilege to be given the opportunity to make some small contribution to this celebration of his faith in the *una sancta*.

In this lecture I have chosen to discuss the question: What viable program is open to the Roman Catholic Church in the area of ecumenical relations in the 80s? Furthermore, only a partial response to this question is intended. It is confined mainly to a consideration of the unfinished agenda of the II Vatican Council with respect to the goals of the ecumenical involvement. A treatment of the particular strategies required to implement these goals, for example, to facilitate communication with the great variety of Christian churches and to deal with specific problems arising in each case, lies beyond the scope of this lecture. While the focus is on Roman Catholic ecumenism, many of the issues discussed are relevant, *mutatis mutandis*, to other Christian churches.

Promotion of Spiritual Ecumenism

The first goal of the ecumenical apostolate within the Roman Catholic Church in the 80s must be the development of the spirit of ecumenism among its members. This was emphasized by the II Vatican Council which spoke of the importance of internal renewal by which unity in Christ through the Holy Spirit is deepened to such an extent that Christians instinctively reach out to embrace all who live in Christ and, indeed, to all humankind.

The *Degree on Ecumenism* describes this "internal conversion" as the necessary condition for "any ecumenism worthy of the name" (U.R. 7; of U.R. 5). Along with prayer for the unity of the Church, it is regarded as "the soul of the whole ecumenical movement" and is said "to merit the name spiritual ecumenism" (U.R. 8).

This spiritual ecumenism gives rise to great expectations and moves Christians to seek ways of overcoming obstacles which prevent closer ties

with their separated brethren. However, in recent years little has been done by church leaders to highlight the ecumenical dimension of interior conversion and renewal. Certainly, a good deal continues to be said about the need for renewal. But it is not frequently linked to the ecumenical activity of prayer for the unity of the church.

Moreover, even where spiritual ecumenism, understood in the narrow sense, has been encouraged, it has seldom resulted in sustained concrete action. Consequently, a lively desire for the unity of all Christians has not been maintained. Desires which do not find some measure of fulfillment tend to die away.

After the II Vatican Council spiritual ecumenism was fostered for a time through theological research, official ecumenical dialogues and, occasionally, in activities sponsored by neighboring parishes. Significant progress has been made by theologians toward resolving confessional differences which prevent further steps in the direction of establishing ecclesiastical communion between the Roman Catholic Church and other Christian churches. A high measure of agreement or, at least, convergence has been obtained on classical points of controversy between the Roman Catholic Church and the Oriental and Orthodox churches, as well as the Reformation churches. Perhaps, only the question of authority in the church and, in particular, the petrine office have not received sufficient attention.

Along with these successes the Roman Catholic Church has begun a pastoral reform which gives due attention to many of the aspects of Christian life valued by Eastern churches and those of the Reformation tradition. We can mention the following as examples: (1) the emphasis on Scripture in liturgy and daily life; (2) the creation of a popular liturgy in which the vernacular is used, rites simplified and the cup given to the laity; (3) the encouragement of the concept of the laity's responsibility for the mission of the Church and the actual inclusion of laity in pastoral activity; (4) the reform of popular piety; (5) the movements toward the national adaptation of the Church.

However, these successes must be balanced against the real effect they have had on the life of the congregations within the Roman Catholic Church. The new theology and liturgy, the new focus on Scripture, and the promotion of ecumenical activity have met with varied reactions. Powerful counter forces are at work within the Roman Catholic Church. On the one hand, many church leaders have become defensive of confessional territory and have rallied reactionary laity around them. On the other hand, at the grassroots many Catholics, because of the ecumenical experience, no longer understand the significance of confessional barriers. Practices which continue to cement separation, such as legislation concerning the religious formation of children of 'mixed marriages,' seem to be without meaning.

The growing division between reactionary and progressive parties has

had a bad effect on the ecumenical movement within the Roman Catholic Church. The cause of this division is traceable in no small part to the failure of church leaders to really communicate the reasons for the reforms to the ordinary members of the congregation. They have acted ambivalently because the leaders have acted ambivalently. In the context in which many Catholics have experienced a loss of confidence, the ecumenical experience of alternative forms of Christian teaching and piety by other Catholics has served to further polarize congregations. This has induced many pastors to obstruct ecumenical activity and to blame it for the malaise rather than to trace back to its source the real cause of this spiritual vacuum.

This situation calls for positive and courageous action. There is a real urgency to do something about the results already achieved in ecumenical relations so as to insure further fruitful progress.

Promotion of Practical Ecumenism

To promote practical ecumenism, which is inspired by spiritual ecumenism and, in turn, keeps it alive, an ecumenical policy should be formulated: a policy which can give direction to the official theological dialogues and to the practical ecumenical cooperation in witness, worship and service in the world. It should be developed with a view to assuring concrete progress in relationships with various types of Christian churches. Those churches belong to two general categories: (1) clusters of local churches which share a long and coherent tradition, the elements of which mutually support and sustain one another; and (2) 'united churches' made up of 'free churches' in which ecclesial communion is not based on similarities in doctrine and ecclesiastical order. This ecumenical policy must be concerned with the articulation of goals, as well as concrete strategies: procedures for implementing the goals.

Formulation of Goals

Point of Departure. The goals of the ecumenical apostolate, the main concern of this paper, should be consistent with the principles of ecumenism found in II Vatican Council's *Decree on Ecumenism*. They provide the acceptable point of departure for the development of a Catholic vision of the united Church of the future and for the concrete program which must be implemented to realize this vision.

These principles are not well understood and accepted by a significant number of Catholic clergy and laity. Hence, they need to be explained and once again publically affirmed by church authorities as the guides for the Church's ecumenical involvement. The chief ones can be quickly summarized:

- (1) The Church of Christ subsists in, but is not exclusively identical

with, the communion of churches in union with the Bishop of Rome.

(2) Consequently, the Church of Christ is present in other Christian communities to the extent that they are faithful in the Spirit to what God began in Jesus Christ.

(3) The participation in Christ through the Spirit, shared by the various Christian communities, should be visibly expressed in common witness, worship and service in the world. Through this acting together, the preaching of the Gospel to the world will be made more effective.

(4) However, those differences between the churches which account for their separation must be overcome before they can fully cooperate with one another in the common mission.

(5) Therefore, a serious dialogue should be pursued at all levels of church life to uncover what is really essential for that ecclesiastical unity which would enable the churches to share their lives in common and their missions to the world. This dialogue should be marked by a mutual openness in which the partners come prepared to recognize their own shortcomings and to seek together the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

A Catholic Vision of the United Church of the Future. These principles gleaned from the *Decree on Ecumenism* do not clearly articulate a Catholic vision of the united Church of the future. But they do provide the basis for the formulation of concrete goals, i.e., final causes which give effective direction to the rest of ecumenical policy.

We can distinguish between three types of goals which correspond to three types of ecclesiology. The first two find support in Roman Catholic official teaching. The third goal and its underlying ecclesiology is usually viewed as deficient in official Roman Catholic circles. It can be pursued as a stepping stone to one or the other of the first two goals. The concept of church which would allow the third goal to be considered as an end in itself is judged inadequate to the requirements of the Roman Catholic theology of church.

The Goal of a Single Church. Within the perspective of classical ecumenism developed since the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910, the dream of a universal church with a single system of government and doctrine captured the imagination of many. The universalist ecclesiology latent in this view rendered it acceptable to the Roman Catholic Church. However, it was generally held, and explicitly affirmed by Pius XI in *Mortalium animos* (1928), that the only realistic means to this goal was the acceptance by all churches of the pope as vicar of Christ and the whole Catholic system of dogma and sacraments.

The Goal of a Communion of Churches. The II Vatican Council 'received' this teaching of Pius XI in a new way. For it acknowledged both the need for reform in the Catholic Church (U.R. 6) and the freedom and responsibility of other churches to retain whatever the Holy Spirit had accomplished in their midst (U.R. 4). This implies that the united Church of the future would be a joint creation in which all the

churches involved can expect to be modified to some extent. Nevertheless, the council assumed that the official teachings and basic structures of the Roman Catholic Church would survive in the future Church (U.R. 3).

But does the Catholic Church expect that these elements which it considers essential to its life, will survive in exactly the same way in all communities of the united Church of the future? Two responses can be given to this question. The first begins with the operational structures of the Catholic Church, isolates essential doctrinal, governmental and liturgical elements formed therein, and concentrates on ways in which all Christian churches can be brought to integrate these elements into their ecclesial life.

Another response begins with the concept of a universal church made up of relatively autonomous particular churches which, in turn, are comprised of a communion of local churches. A universal communion is realized through mutual acknowledgement of doctrines, hierarchical structures and liturgical worship together with a mutual sharing which covers the whole range of church life. Hence, the goal of ecumenism is to extend the communion already existing between one group of local churches to that of another group, i.e., to realize communion between particular churches, understood as clusters of local churches.

The Roman Catholic Church favors this type of ecumenism insofar as it relates to particular churches which have preserved the traditional doctrines, hierarchical structures and liturgical rites considered to be essential aspects of its ecclesial life. However, it is not yet clear to what extent the Roman Catholic Church could commit itself to ecclesiastical communion with particular churches where more than merely superficial differences in canon law and liturgical rites are found.

At the present time some reflection is taking place within Catholic theological circles on the so-called 'uniate model,' i.e., the style of communion which exists between the Latin Catholic Church and the Eastern Catholic churches. In this model a significant measure of doctrinal autonomy does not obtain, although the differences in liturgical rites presuppose, some degree of autonomy.

Dissatisfied with the policy which favors a certain dichotomy between the theology of the liturgy and the official theology imposed on Eastern Catholic churches by the West, this question is posed by some scholars: Could the Roman Catholic Church enter into communion with another particular church without insisting on unity of doctrinal formulation and an essentially identical theological approach to the Christian economy of salvation?

An opening in this direction is found by some theologians based on II Vatican Council's discussion of a "hierarchy of truths" which differ in their relation to the fundamental Christian message (U.R. II) and the suggestion that many of the differing formulations of doctrine in the

Eastern and Western traditions may represent "complementary rather than conflicting" views (U.R. 17).

The implications of a "hierarchy of truths" and the relative validity of all theological systems in which the relationships between these truths are established needs to be worked out. Here the addition of the *filioque* to the Western Creed and the Protestant slogan *sola fidesola scriptura* come to mind.

A Different Kind of Communion of Churches. We have been considering two kinds of full communion. The first is based on unanimity in doctrinal formulations, hierarchical structures, and liturgical rites which differ only in minor cultural adaptations. The second is founded on complementarity in operational structures which go beyond mere, relatively minor differences in liturgical rites and canon law. In both cases it is presupposed that the Roman Catholic Church would be able to recognize in another church all the elements of church life which it considers essential to itself. Within this horizon of understanding the goal of ecumenism is communion with churches which have preserved intact the patrimony of the past found in the Roman Catholic Church and with churches willing to recognize this patrimony as their own. Communion is considered more perfect to the extent that differences in doctrine, hierarchical structure, and liturgy are eliminated. This view is applicable to 'sister churches' and vests on a substantialist ecclesiology.

However, a different kind of communion is conceivable based on a *process ecclesiology*. Here two principles come to the foreground: (1) The Christian idea provides for a variety of authentic expressions of Christian life which in divine ways refract the mystery of the body of Christ; and (2) in a new cultural and historical situation, new forms of the church may arise under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit which depart significantly from the fixed set of nomination doctrines, hierarchical structures, and sacramental rites of the traditional churches.

To the extent that these principles could be shown to be valid, the goal of ecumenism in the case of heterogenous Christian churches would be an ongoing interaction through mutual questioning and accounting, as well as cooperation in the mission of preaching the essentials of the Gospel to the world through word and work.

This type of ecumenism is applicable to the relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the 'non-confessional churches,' i.e., which do not have particular beliefs which define them over against other churches. It finds its fullest expression in the united churches of the third world.

To what extent should this type of ecumenism be fostered by the Roman Catholic Church simply because of the mutual benefits it brings to the partners? Could it lead to the recognition of the ecclesial status of such churches and to a real, though necessarily limited, ecclesial sharing of the life of faith even at the level of liturgy?

The Roman Catholic Church as a World Church

We have been considering what might be the Roman Catholic Church's ecumenical program for the 80s in the light of its current understanding of ecumenical possibilities. It is now time to raise one final question: What will be its ecumenical policy as it comes to grips with the implications of its movement from a characteristically European church to a world church? In a very real sense many questions which the Roman Catholic Church has posed for itself in the matter of the conditions for establishing communion with other Christian churches can now be considered relevant to the problem of the preservation and strengthening of the unity between the various national and regional churches which make up the Catholic communion. To explain why this is so, we can turn to the event of the II Vatican Council.

At this council the catholicity of the Roman Catholic Church was actualized in a new way. It differed from that manifestation which showed itself in the great missionary efforts begun in the sixteenth century to extend the Catholic Church to the new world of the Americas and to the old world of the East, including China.

Decentralization of the Church. First of all, at the council a modest but real step was taken in the direction of decentralization of the Catholic Church. The college of bishops functioned as the teaching and decision-making body of the church. Moreover, the council's teaching made explicit reference to the fact that the local church, with and under its bishop, is a true realization of church; that the local bishop has divinely ordained responsibility for his own church and for the whole church in communion with the other bishops.

However, the collegial constitutional principle of the church still needs to be clarified theoretically and put into practice in the post-conciliar period. At the council the college of bishops was, together with and under the pope, the active subject of the highest plenary powers in the church in a comprehensive way. This was also expressly affirmed in the conciliar teaching. On the other hand, it was not theoretically clarified at the council, or in subsequent magisterial teaching, how this plenary authority possessed by the pope 'alone' and the council can actually exist and be exercised by two subjects which are at least partially different. Moreover, it is not yet apparent in practice what timely and lasting significance this collegial constitutional principle has for the church. But in the measure that the Roman Catholic Church chooses to depart from a universalist ecclesiology in favor of a communion ecclesiology, some concrete changes will have to be made in the direction of the liquidation of the kind of Roman centralism to which this church has grown accustomed.

De-Europeanizing of the Church. A tentative step was also taken at the II Vatican Council toward the de-Europeanizing of the Catholic

Church. This move might have been predicted because the council included a significant number of native bishops from all parts of the world. They provided the council with a new vision of the Catholic Church as a world church. Among the significant decisions which resulted from this are the following: (1) the option for the vernacular in the liturgy which supports the concept of particular churches evolving with a certain degree of independence within their own cultural spheres; (2) the self-conscious effort to avoid the excessive use of new/scholastic language in the decrees so that they could be better understood by the whole church; and (3) the affirmation of the positive values of the great world religions and the universal salvific will of God—frustrated only by the evil decisions of human conscience—which legitimize a preaching of the Gospel conformed to the authentic religious experience and language of various non-European cultures.

Karl Rahner compares this event of the II Vatican Council to the transition from Jewish to Gentile Christianity. In the latter case a real theological break took place in which Christianity grew up on the soil of Hellenistic and European culture and civilization. It cultivated itself in a new historical and theological situation. It did not remain a Jewish Christian export.

Many changes resulted from this transition in both doctrine and practice: (1) the abolition of Jewish religious practices such as the observance of the Sabbath, circumcision and dietary laws; and (2) the movement of the church's center from Jerusalem to Antioch, Rome, Alexandria, and later, to Constantinople. Modifications took place in moral doctrine. A new set of canonical writings was compiled and important changes took place in church order, discipline and theology.

A striking resemblance exists between the historical situation in which Paul transplanted Jewish Christianity into the Hellenistic world and that in which the Roman Catholic Church begins to cultivate itself in contemporary Asian, African, and other non-European cultures. It is too early to predict what will be the outcome of this modest step in the direction of a world church. At least this is so for a Roman Catholic theologian. For he must ask, in the first place, whether the Christian Church possesses at this stage of its history a creative power and authority in the Holy Spirit similar to that enjoyed by the early Church of the apostolic and patristic age. Can the Church make the kind of decisions characteristic of the transition from Jewish Christianity to Hellenistic Christianity? Can it decide against what were formally considered irreversible decisions of the early Church, e.g., in the area of the hierarchical structure of the Church.

What is implied in the need for non-Western Christians to discover for themselves how the Christian proclamation must be expressed so as to be made understandable for the peoples of non-Western cultures? These new forms of preaching must be based on a hierarchy of truths.

Therefore, there exists a necessity to reflect on the essentials of the Christian revelation in order to begin to formulate from it the whole of ecclesial faith while making use of the natural creativity belonging to an actual historical situation.

Karl Rahner has pointed out that the task of formulating a new ecclesial faith requires the articulation of a formal criterion for deciding what belongs to supernatural revelation in the strict sense. This would provide the basis for an authentic pluralism of proclamation. Each different one would possess a uniqueness which would make it truly complementary to every other one. As such, they would serve to criticize and enrich one another.

The practical difficulties of maintaining the unity of faith within a plural proclamation could not be resolved by a body of experts with only one horizon of understanding. Hence, the question of the implementation of the collegial constitutional principle of the Church would take on a new urgency.

In short, the coming into being of the Roman Catholic Church as a world church involves a break with the past which may be expected to result in a significant pluralism not only with respect to canon law and other ecclesial practices, but also in the matter of the form of proclamation of the Gospel. This transition, which has already begun, opens the way to many possibilities and opportunities. It will surely have repercussions on the whole ecumenical movement. We can anticipate that many of the obstacles, which at present appear to be barriers to ecclesial communion, will fall through changes which take place within the Roman Catholic Church as it answers the challenge to become a world church.

Conclusions

From the foregoing considerations we can draw these conclusions:

(1) Progress in the ecumenical movement in the 80s, insofar as it depends on the Roman Catholic Church, requires its clear articulation of the goals of ecumenism along with the fostering of spiritual ecumenism.

(2) But these goals should be conceived in the light of what is implied in the transition from a European to a world church.

(3) Consequently, the Roman Catholic ecumenical policy should be formulated on the basis of a realistic evaluation of the internal changes required for it to become fully actualized as a world church.

(4) The future of the ecumenical movement is intimately related to the future of the Christian Church as it cultivates itself in non-Hellenistic and European cultures and civilizations. A vision of the future of ecumenism would be defective if it did not include this foreseeable development. Likewise, ecumenical policy which omitted this consideration would be unrealistic.

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ARCHIMANDRITE CHRYSOSTOMOS

WOMEN IN THE ORTHODOX CHURCH: BRIEF COMMENTS FROM A SPIRITUAL PERSPECTIVE

Anyone reading the sublime words of the Orthodox Church Fathers is immediately struck with a number of overwhelming impressions. First, there emanates from their words a certain sense, which seems intuitively true, striking an inner cord in the reader, resounding harmonically with the tone of what the Fathers have written. Second, the more one reads of the Fathers, the more he feels, despite notable differences in their writing styles, modes of expression, and subjects of attention, that they are making one, single statement, saying the same thing; albeit, the content of that statement is elusive, warming more the heart than stimulating the mere intellect. And finally, though at times there is apparent hyperbole (an impression that comes to us because we are too often cold to the impulse of holy zeal), and though one cannot find in the Fathers the lack of commitment and detachment from moral absolutes which we today so wrongly call 'objectivity,' the Fathers evidence a sense of moderation; they convey, amidst their concerns for undiluted veracity, a knowledge which is neither to the 'right' nor to the 'left,' which is perfectly balanced by the mystical and universal equilibrium which is truth itself.

It is precisely these characteristics of the patristic writings which define that subtle cornerstone of Orthodox life: spirituality. Transferred from the written word to the personal life, they describe the holy person. Lifted from image to experience, they portray the inner life of every Christian. The Fathers shared, in every way, the fullness of the Orthodox life, and it is this completeness which permeates their writings. They express the experience to which each of us is called, and inwardly we see this, if we are attentive and moderate in our own views. It is this spirituality, alas, that is absent in the discussion of the role of women in the Orthodox Church today. So, the discussion has become extreme (immoderate), secular, and worldly—detached from the inner life and spiritual experience. There have developed opposition parties, diametrically opposed views, warring factions, and intemperate antagonists, the latter expressing profound, spiritual issues in the arena of counter-spiritual emotions and dispositions.

Let us look at the general reaction among Orthodox thinkers to the modern discussion of the role of women in the Church. On the one hand, we have the very 'traditional' view, expressing a conservative attitude toward the social role of women in general. I have often read of, and

heard expressed, images of women that are in almost total concord with the old German expression, "*Kinder und kuchen*"—women are essentially for childbearing and for cooking. In the Greek we think of the notion of '*oikokyrosyne*,' the woman 'of the house.' It is argued, from this point of view, that women have an essential 'nature' such that they appropriately belong to the home. The things of the home are fundamentally and somehow appropriately suited to the female gender. One senses, in the more extreme advocates of this view, the notion that the social roles of females are perhaps dogmatic, that women are universally relegated, by a God-given command, to the home and its concerns.

On the other hand, we find ample evidence, in all of the media in American society, that women are willing to sacrifice every notion of their separate and unique identity in order to break the bonds of the presumably man-made social roles which constrain them in their actions and behaviors. It is not unusual for women to deny even their physiological distinctions from the male and to advocate the most extreme form of 'sexual equality.' In the frenzy of this denial process, they paradoxically often claim for themselves the right to the same abusive characteristics which men have ostensibly exhibited in exercising their prejudicial authority over women. And often, from the psychological standpoint, the intemperance of these women leads them to crises in sexual identity, further resulting in behavior of such an abominable kind that it bears little protracted comment.

In lecturing at several Orthodox churches, I have been at times shocked (and, needless to say, saddened) at the growing popularity of extremist feminist views among Orthodox women. I have actually heard Saint Paul, in view of his statements regarding the role of women in the Church, described in modern rhetorical terms that no casual, let alone pious, Orthodox Christian would ever have used in times past. I have been asked quite bluntly by some of these same women how I felt that I was somehow worthy of the priesthood, yet had the audacity to support the notion that women were unworthy. Is this not, I have been asked, an arrogance inappropriate to the humility of the priesthood? In yet another instance, a woman declared to me that, as a human being and as a Christian, she had every *right* to the priesthood. She referred to the Holy Fathers of the Church (who, contrary to her mistaken thought, include the Holy Mothers of Orthodoxy) as a band of "male chauvinists" who had tried to maintain the power of their offices by the constant denigration of women! (If I offend the reader with the repetition of these utterances, it is a necessary ill. The true Christian apologist must be aware, however painful the facts, of the content *and* the gravity of what he intends to combat.)

Indeed, both of these arguments regarding women are faulty. In the first place, there is nothing at all truly 'traditional' about assigning a

certain 'nature' to women. True it is, many of the great ascetic Fathers warn male monks of the wiles of Eve that exist in the female character, but the counterpart of this is the submission of the male counterpart of Adam in sinning monks. Yet in no sense do we attribute to males a certain 'nature,' as such, which defines their social roles. Indeed, these images are meant for male and female monks and are, rather than statements of blame for this or that sin or temptation against one or another of the sexes, practical advice in the pursuit of the angelic life which, after all, transcends human 'nature.' In addition, when we, as Orthodox, speak of fallen men and women, we speak, as compared to the heterodox Westerners, in relative terms. From Saint Maximos the Confessor to Saint Seraphim of Sarov, the Fathers of the Church have emphasized that, while we are spotted by original sin (by the ancestral curse, etc.), we have never lost the divine image. Were this not so, Saint Seraphim argues, what of the great and divine Prophets? From whence their holiness? It is Christ who restored us (potentially) to our full and true natures. He fulfilled what lingered within us, what enlightens every man coming into the world. As for the fallen 'nature,' it is not a fixed, universal characteristic of man. It is typical of his fallen state.

The very message of Orthodoxy, then, is that men *and* women are called away from the erroneous 'natures' which they have taken to themselves, away from the labor and pain, to deification, to union with God, through the grace of Christ. The very task of the Church in the world is to preserve this notion of salvation, to protect the vessel in which rests this great and sacred potential. If, then, the Church exalts the woman as child bearer, it is to lift her nature, to emphasize her unique social role. But should she choose to be called to the higher 'nature' of holiness, the Holy Church even more greatly honors her. In that higher calling, she gives birth to Christ, as did the Blessed *Theotokos*, bearing *asomatos* ("in an unbodily way"), as Saint Maximos says, God within her. And this potential is not that of women alone, but of men, too. The spiritual childbearing of the human is a male *and* female role.

Thus it is that we must not speak too boldly about women in society. If "*Kinder und kuchen*" are our banner words, we discredit those holy women who surpassed human nature. We dishonor the Holy Mothers and women saints of the Church. We impose on women a role which must never be overemphasized or placed above the higher spiritual calling of men *and* women. Moreover, in a certain sense we fail to understand that the worldly role of women in the Orthodox Church, as evidenced by the Byzantine empresses who stand as saints in the Holy Church, is not dogmatized and fixed. There are, as always, exceptions, paradoxes, and unique circumstances which a rigid view can never capture. Indeed, the liberty to fulfill the role to which God calls us must never be compromised by those roles which we preserve as salutary for

the correct ordering of society.

Our goals together, as Orthodox men and women, are to make society, as much as possible, an image of the divine. To do this, the family must be sacrosanct and the parents must fulfill the roles necessary to the preservation of social order. But this means that men and women must be caretakers in the home together, that they must be what they are because a greater goal than fulfilling social roles or would-be 'natures' calls them. This is not the denigration of the man or woman, but the calling of each to serve ultimately spiritual goals. And if these roles are violated and the spiritual welfare of the family and the children are compromised, then we can speak of duty and assigned responsibilities. (And so Saint Paul chastises the women of the Church when they introduce disorder into its life. Thus he tells women to be obedient to their husbands, if they disturb the spiritual welfare of the family. But these chastisements are as much for males who violate these rules of order as they are for women. The question is one of practical living, not one of 'natures' and so on.) But this is the lower life; in the higher life, there are neither men nor women nor the obedient and disobedient. Rather, one provokes not the other, as with parents and children, and harmony is born.

We run the risk, if we become rigid in our views of social order, of ruling out the inner fulfillment which makes a mother what she is and a father what he is. Things done in fulfillment of the laws are dead; those done in spirit are enlivening. We must not build an Orthodoxy of prescriptions and proscriptions, but an Orthodoxy in which God expresses through us the kingdom of heaven and in which that which is worldly reaches up to its more heavenly image. Each of us is chastised by the famous Amma in the desert who hastened to inform a novice monk, who had crossed to the other side of the road when she and her disciples passed, that had he been a perfect monk, he would not have known that they were women. If we live our Orthodoxy appropriately, we need not define with rigidity the nature of our relationships, men and women, to one another. We will live within that perfect peace by which each knows his role, not out of the imposition of another's will, but out of humility before God. And in this humility, how dare any man think that he is above a woman or a woman above a man, anymore than a priest might think himself superior to the royal priesthood of the people whom he serves.

As regards the so-called 'feminist' position of which we hear so much today, there are certain issues on which the Orthodox Christian (if not, perhaps, the rational individual) cannot yield. We do affirm and recognize an order, meaning, and functional differentiation in created things. Thus our faith teaches us that the female is endowed by God with certain characteristics and tendencies that differ from those of men. And these, rather than detracting from her, elevate her as part of the divine

scheme. By no means does this teaching suggest or tolerate the resignation of women to some lowly status. As well, our intellects and senses teach us that women and men differ. We border on the insane (not an unusual thing in these bizarre times) if we deny the biological roles of men and women in procreation. These roles are verified by the external, physical distinction in gender. And even the most radical psychological portrayals of men and women readily admit to fundamental differences between the sexes in cognitive style and mental functioning. (Paradoxically enough, feminists themselves have shown that psychological profiles and categories standardized on males are not appropriate in the assessment of female behavior.)

Again, however, these rudimentary statements cannot be overstated. They 'characterize' a role; they do not dogmatize it. They have reference to the redeemed individual and should not necessarily be applied to the human in his fallen state. And it is here where both extreme images of women go similarly astray. On the one hand, the fallen 'nature' of the woman is assigned to her by the would-be traditionalist as the character of her entire being, forgetting the divine image of the female. On the other hand, the feminist position overemphasizes the divine image of the female, thereby wishing to free its proponents of the necessity of conquering human 'nature'—a task, as we have repeatedly stated, that belongs to man and woman alike. It is, then, aside from the blasphemy of extreme rhetoric, foolish to speak of Saint Paul's *view* of women. He speaks from practical experience of the weaknesses of the female—the counterparts of which can be found in men (imagine the reaction of the Cretans, both men and women, to the blessed apostle's statements regarding that people). He also speaks of the spiritual nature of women. If we make no distinction regarding the spiritual and fallen natures of women, we simply fail to understand Saint Paul in an intelligent way. We come to extreme views.

Something must be said, now, of the way in which we should learn to understand the words of Saint Paul. We must approach them with spiritual sobriety, asking that the power within the words (*en to Logo*, within the Word itself) reveal their ultimate truth. Otherwise, we become students of the Bible, joining those unwise and foolish Orthodox who wildly rush to analyze and, thereby, distort the meaning of Scripture by making the mere words understandable to their intellects. If we properly understand biblical exegesis in the Church, we know that the modern 'Bible study' is, quite simply, 'un-Orthodox.' For us to glean notions and images of women, then, from biblical statements is fruitless and not within the Church's tradition. If we fulfill the Orthodox life (with fasting, *prescribed* prayers, services, and the pursuit of humility), the icon of the words of Scripture will be revealed to us and its grace will be revealed to us and its grace will flood our minds. We will know, noetically and mystically, precisely what Saint Paul wrote and what he

meant, for his words are our own, joined to us in our common source in Christ.

We cannot, here, overstate the absolute necessity of understanding how we are to read Scripture—for the *improper* reading of Saint Paul has led both to the errors on the 'right' and those on the 'left' in the assessment of women in the Orthodox Church. Whatever one might think of his life, and however errant his actions as a human might have been, the late Protopresbyter Georges Florovsky left us with some keen insights into the nature of Scripture in the Church. So it is that, when we were both at Princeton, I came to know and appreciate an aspect of his thought which dominated all of his theological imagery. In so many ways, he hearkens repeatedly back to Saint Irenaios' vision of Scripture. Saint Irenaios, in his well-known dissertation against a certain heretical sect, compares the person who uses his intellect to understand Scripture to an artist, who wrongly uses stones to create a mosaic portrait of a dog, when in fact the components of the mosaic might rightfully create the portrait of a king. In short, the final portrait depends on the vision of the artist when he begins his project. If he knows that it is a king that he is to portray, he does so. If he does not, he might neatly fit the stones together and create a hideous image. And so, one who attempts to understand Scripture without first being enlightened by the very content and spirit of Scripture itself (envisioning it as the perfect icon of theological grace) will likely hideously distort what Scripture means.

In a more specific sense, Saint Paul argues for the proper ordering of the Church in his statements regarding women. And, as we often fail to recognize, he makes distinctions between function and nature. Anyone schooled and experienced in the subtle paradox of spiritual life recognizes this sense in Saint Paul. Not to recognize it leads to overstatements that yield either a non-Orthodox view of the spiritual potential of women or a wholly secular reaction against spirituality that dooms one to eternal ruination.

To speak to the issue of women in the priesthood is to recognize that on this issue, too, extreme voices have distorted the truth. Let us return to the moderation of what the Fathers teach us. No man, Saint John Chrysostomos tells us, is worthy of the priesthood (and here we mean 'men' as males and females). Yet for the functioning of the Church, we have a priesthood. It is, therefore, not a 'right' which one holds, but a burden which one takes upon himself with the greatest fear and trembling—the archpriesthood epitomizing this deep fear in the human soul. Somewhere in the moderation between knowing oneself unworthy of the priesthood and trembling before the fact of its reality, the priest exists. If he moves away from this delicate understanding, he imperils his soul. Enough, then, of any person, be he man or woman, claiming 'rights' to the priesthood. This is spiritual folly and a total misunderstanding of the visible manifestation of Christ's Church. It is foolishness inviting in-

ternal death.

It follows that the priesthood should have, in the early Church, been restricted in every possible way. It is a fact that we received some traditions from the Jews, and that the Jewish priesthood was male. The Church is real, existing in reality, expressing the life of real people. It should not be strange, therefore, if we see the priesthood restricted to males. And yet, the Church manifested its supra-historical nature to us. Females, too, within the limits of the great regard the Church showed toward the priesthood, shared in priestly grace. Have we forgotten, perhaps, that the diaconate has been held by females, that social order, church law, and human 'nature' at times yield to the spiritual? We have forgotten. We have so formalized the priesthood, so 'Westernized' our understanding of it, that we have somehow reduced the grace and magnificence of the diaconate to a secondary position. We have come to think of the deacon and deaconess as 'half-priests,' as though ordination could be measured and quantified in terms of the 'amount' of grace bestowed. Who dares to assign greater grace to Saint John Chrysostomos (a patriarch) than to Saint Stephen the first deacon and martyr? Where does one find a sober Father speaking in such terms? Woe to us Orthodox if we forget that even in the priesthood, in a subtle way, the spiritual role of the female and male made one in Christ triumphs.

Do we, as Orthodox, finally, deny the ministry to women? No. Nor do we guarantee it to men. Nor do we minutely define it, as though it were under the microscope of the scientist. Nor do we violate its beauty by reducing it to a mere position or role. It is much more. And what it is no man can claim with worthiness and no woman can claim by right. It is held by God's mercy and fails to burn and consume the unworthy holder, only because he is "girt with the *grace* of the priesthood." This economy, this mercy, is extended to males and females, in the most technical sense, and to speak of the male or female character of the priesthood is to misunderstand this extension and to distort and change the nature of the priesthood. Any true servant, whether archpriest, presbyter, deacon, or deaconess, stands where he is precisely because he is neither man nor woman and precisely because God has granted him the grace to set aside his own, sinful nature in this one instance. Understanding this, the issue of the priesthood transcends social roles. It is wrong to speak of it in such a context. The priesthood, ministry to the people, and service in the Church do not belong to the realm of sexual distinction, declarations of differing natures, or human prattle. Their focus is eternal, spiritual, and noumenal. They are the wards of a dimension where extremes do not exist, where all truth is witnessed in the royal way, in the mystical truth encompassed only by moderation.

Moderation in thought and attitudes manifests itself to us also in flesh and blood, so that we can see in sober Orthodox men and women exactly what is wrong with our present intemperate thinking about men and

women in 'roles' dictated by their 'natures.' Where, indeed, are such thoughts in the tear-evoking sweetness of the encounter of the Elder Zossima with our wondrous Mother, Saint Mary of Egypt? Can one imagine the holy elder saying to himself, "Being a priest, I shall bless this saint, for I am, by nature, worthy of that which she, by nature, is not"? God forbid! Rather, the holy elder fell before our beloved Mother and asked that she bless *him*. And could it be that the wondrous woman among God's saints said to herself, "I will bless this man, since he, indeed, must know that I have a *right* to the priesthood"? Indeed, no. Which of us can forego tears thinking of what truly happened? Falling prostrate before the holy elder, Saint Mary begged his forgiveness, the two remaining for some time thus prostrated before one another, each saying, "*Evlogeite*," or "Bless." As we all know, the Holy Mother, deferring to Father Zossima's priesthood, wished his blessing. And he, deferring to her holiness, desired her blessing. And what a lesson to learn from the result. She cried out, "Blessed is our God, who watches over the salvation of souls and people." And the holy elder responded, "Amen."

Shame, hence, to each of us who proclaims either the man or the woman superior, or pretends to know the proper role and nature of each. This is arrogance, immoderation, intellectual pomposity, and the usurpation of judgments which only God can make. In true spirituality, distinctions, both formal and informal, disappear. This is not to say that we should, in any way, allow our social responsibilities to go unheeded in the name of human freedom and illusory, worldly liberty. Certainly we must not in any sense feel akin to movements which threaten social and spiritual order. But neither should we decide that there are clear offices and stations in life which, gleaned from an improper understanding of the spiritual world, absolutely fix the role of any person, whether Lord or serf, freeman or slave, man or woman. We live between the two antipodes of our future existence: separation from God, the fruit of our mortal way, and union with God, the fruit of the spiritual way—between hell and heaven. We must correctly envision ourselves in this middle state, reflecting as it does our notions of men and women. If we are too extreme in the mortal sense, we lower the image of God in man. If we are too extreme in the spiritual sense, we suffer from the delusion of aspiring to what we are without proper transformation of our fallen selves.

In some ways, perhaps, I have been immoderate in my statements about women in the Orthodox Church. Certainly this must be so, for I, more than the reader, know that the sublime beauty of the moderation of the words of the Holy Fathers is not to be found in my own words. But if I have erred, it is error, not in my counsel, but in the manner in which I have expressed some ideas. And if I can be rightfully condemned for counselling intemperance, so I can, likewise, be mercifully forgiven if, though counselling temperance, I have done so with immoderation. This forgiveness I ask of the reader.

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MICHAEL DIMAIO II

ZONARAS, JULIAN, AND PHILOSTORGIOS ON THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE I

Over the years the circumstances surrounding the death of Constantine I have been a fertile source of discussion for scholars.¹ Primarily they have been interested in the funeral of the emperor² and the construction of both the Church of the Holy Apostles and the Mausoleum of Constantine.³ There has not been any real detailed study of a number of events that occurred around the time of his death. These matters include the manner in which the emperor traveled to Asia Minor before his death, the actual location where he contracted his fatal disease, and the state of his health when his son, Constantios, started out for Constantinople. This article will attempt to remedy this situation by examining the sources which treat these matters.

There is general agreement that Constantine died at noon⁴ on 22 May⁵

* I am indebted to Professor Eugene N. Lane of the University of Missouri, whose kind criticism of this article helped to minimize any errors I have made.

1 E. g., Benjamin, *RE* 4,s.v. "Constantinus (2)," col. 1023.9ff; Seeck, *RE* 4, s.v. "Constantinus (4), col. 1045.49ff; J. H. Smith, *Constantine the Great* (New York, 1971), p. 290ff; Joseph Vogt, *Constantin der Grosse und sein Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1949), p. 259ff; Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton, 1961; hereafter cited, *Antioch*), p. 353ff; Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and the Fall of the Roman Empire*, I (New York, n.d.), p. 577ff.

2 The most detailed and best treatment of Constantine's funeral remains the dated, but careful study of P. Franchi de'Cavalieri, "I funerali ed il sepolcro di Constantino Magno," *École française de Rome: Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 36 (1916-17), p.206ff.

3 The construction of these two structures is discussed by Glanville Downey, "The Builder of the Church of the Holy Apostles," *DOP*, 6 (1951), 53ff, J. Vogt. "Der Erbauer der Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel," *Hermes*, 81 (1953), 111ff, and G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris, 1974), p. 401; Dagron lists and summarizes all the important literature on the subject (401, n. 1).

It is uncertain whether Constantine I of Constantius II built the two structures since the ancient sources which treat the matter disagree (Michael DiMaio, II, "Zonaras's Account of the Neo-Flavian Emperors: A Commentary," [Ph. D. diss., University of Missouri-Columbia, 1977], p. 252ff). Since I have discussed this subject elsewhere (see my dissertation, pp. 252-54), there is no reason to go over it here.

4 Euseb., *VC* 4.64.

5 Idatius, *Des. Cons. ann.* 337 *PL* 51, 908; *Chron. P.*, *ann.* 337, (1.532.22ff); Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.40, *PG* 67: 180B-C.

337⁶ at a villa⁷ in Ancyra⁸ near Nicomedia.⁹ After his death the emperor's army placed his remains in a coffin and dispatched it to Constantinople.¹⁰ He had recently set out on an expedition against the Persians. Sapor II, King of the Persians, had recently broken the Treaty of 324 by abducting Tiran, the ruler of Armenia, in 334.¹¹ The emperor had advanced against the Persians himself because he was not satisfied with his initial arrangements which had been made in 335.¹² At that time Constantine had sent his son Constantios II to face Persian forces in the East,¹³ but was displeased with his actions and planned to face the Persians himself.¹⁴ Beyond these basic facts a number of events dealing with the war and with the death of the emperor have yet to be treated in a satisfactory manner.

It is known that the Persians were so uneasy about the presence of Constantios in the East that they sent an embassy to Constantine shortly before Easter in 337.¹⁵ The ecclesiastical historian, Eusebios, simply notes that it was a peace mission and that the emperor accepted the Persian terms.¹⁶ The orator, Libanios, however, seemingly mentions a second

6 Jerome, *Chron. ann.* 2353 (Helm, 234); other sources mention Constantine's death in passing (Aur. Vict., *Epit.* 41.15; Zos., 2.35.1; Julian, *Cr.* 1.18B; Festus, 26).

7 Orosius, 7.28.31; Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* 10.12 (Mommson, 2.978.5ff); Eutrop., 10.8.2.

8 Aur. Vict., *Caesar.* 42.16; Malalas, 1.324.6ff Bonn; Jerome, *Chron. ann.* 2353 (Helm, 234).

9 Paenius, 10.4.2; *Anon. Vales.*, 6.35; Sozom., *Hist. Eccl.* 1.34.1ff; Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.39 PG 67, 177Cff; other sources indicate that Constantine died at Nicomedia (Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.16 [Bidez, 26]; John of Rhodes, *Artemii Passio* 7 [Bidez 26]; Theodoret., *Hist. Eccl.* 1.34; Zonar., 13.4.25 Bonn; *Chron. P.*, ann. 337 [1.532.8ff Bonn]; Theoph., *AM* 5828 [1.33.17ff], de Boor).

10 Euseb., *VC* 4.66; Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.40 PG 67:180B; Sozom., *Hist. Eccl.* 2.34.4ff.

11 Faustus of Byzantium, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.20, *FHG*, 5², 229ff.; Julian seems to allude to this overt act of hostility (*Or.* 1.20D); other sources simply state that the Persians began to wage war with the Romans (*Chron. P.*, ann. 337 [1.532.7ff] = [Theoph., *AM* 5828 (1.33.11ff)]).

For a discussion of the treaty of 324, the Romano-Persian conflict of 335, and the years subsequent to it, see Benjamin, *RE* 4, col. 1022.58ff, Seeck, *RE* 1A, s.v. "Sapor (2)," col. 2334.60ff, idem, *RE* 4, col. 1045.36ff, A.M.H. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (New York, 1949)p. 208ff, Smith, 209ff, N.H. Baynes, "Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century," *EHR*, 25 (1910), p. 627ff, and Downey, *Antioch*, 353ff.

12 The emperor made his brother Hanniballianus King of Pontus and Armenia (*Chron. P.*, ann. 355 [1.532.1ff]; *Anon. Vales.*, 6.35; Aur. Vict., *Epit.* 41.20); Hanniballianus supposedly restored order in his realm (Julian seems to allude to the restoration of order in Armenia, although he ascribes it to Constantius [*Or.* 1.20D]).

13 Julian, *Or.* 1.13B, Festus, 26; John of Rhodes, *Artemii Passio* 8 (Bidez, 29).

14 Euseb., *VC* 4.56; Festus, 26; Julian, *Or.* 1.18B; *Anon. Vales.*, 6.35 Orosius, 7.28.31; in 336, as he would in later years, Constantios crossed the Euphrates to fight the Persians. If they appeared, he retreated to the safety of Roman lines. At most he led his army to cities destroyed by the enemy and gave thanks that the damage was no worse (Lib., *Or.* 18.206-7).

15 Euseb., *VC* 4.57.

16 Ibid.

diplomatic mission; the ambassadors, he argues, claimed that Sapor was willing to stop hostilities, if he received some of the land Galerius had seized in 297. He goes on to claim that Constantine told them he would answer Sapor personally.¹⁷

Faced with the differences in the two narratives, scholars have assumed that the emperor had received two missions from the Persians. Seeck, for instance, has argued that the first was to obtain "die Rückerstattung der Gebiete, die König Narses im Frieden von 297 in Diocletian hatte abtreten müssen..." and that the second was strictly a peace mission.¹⁸ Seeck based his contention on the fact that Eusebios mentions only a peace embassy¹⁹ whereas Libanios claims that the end of hostilities was dependent on an adjustment of the boundary dispute in Sapor's favor.²⁰ Is it not possible that both writers are discussing the same event? Eusebios mentions only one embassy which reached the emperor before Easter 337; more justice is done to both sources if it is assumed that Eusebios did not bother to mention all the Persian requests. If he had mentioned them and the emperor's response, Constantine would not have looked so much like a hero as Eusebios attempts to portray him. This explanation of these events, at least, reconciles two apparently contradictory pieces of evidence.

Two problems dealing with Constantine's death remain to be treated. They include the manner in which Constantine went to Asia Minor and the time of Constantios's arrival at his father's sickbed. Both matters are dependent on the origin of material contained in the Byzantine chronographer Zonaras.²¹ For the sake of convenience the latter problem will be treated first.

The chronographer indicates that Constantios left Antioch and arrived at his father's side while the dying emperor was still alive.²² One may assume that Zonaras believed Constantios met his dying father near Nicomedia and then moved him to Constantinople where he died. It is manifestly clear that the chronographer's source of information is a portion of an oration of Julian,²³ a fact acknowledged by both Seeck and de' Cavalieri.²⁴ But when both passages are placed side by side, the reader can see that both narratives are at odds.

17 *Or.* 59.71-72.

18 *RE* 1A, col. 2335.1ff.

19 Euseb., *VC* 4.47.

20 *Or.* 59.71ff.

21 13.4.25-28.

22 13.4.28.

23 *Or.* 1.16D.

24 O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, (Berlin, 1911; hereafter cited, *Antiken Welt*), 4.390, n. 28; de'Cavalieri, *École française de Rome: Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 36 (1916-17), pp. 206-07.

Zonar., 13.4.28

Julian, *Or.* 1.16D

ὄν ὁ εἶδος Κωνσταντίος ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας παραγενόμενος (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἦν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἀντιμαχόμενος) ἔτι ζῶντα εὐρὼν ἐκήδευσεν μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων κατέθετο ἱερῷ....

πλοῦ δὲ πλέον τῷ μόνος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων ζῶντος μὲν ἔτι καὶ πιεζομένου τῇ νόσῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀρμῆσαι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὰς μεγίστας τίμας καταστήσαι, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐξαρκεῖ καὶ τὸ μνησθῆναι.

It is clear that Zonaras believed that Constantine was still alive when Constantios arrived at his side;²⁵ Julian says only that Constantios hastened toward Nicomedia when he received the news of Constantine's illness. He does not indicate whether or not the emperor was still alive when Constantios arrived.²⁶ The narratives of Sozomen and Socrates state in no uncertain terms that messengers were dispatched to Constantios bearing the news of Constantine's death;²⁷ these facts would lead to the conclusion that Constantine was already dead when Constantios left the East. This crux was painfully evident to both Seeck and de' Cavalieri. Seeck attempted to correct the narrative of Zonaras by inserting a negative before the participle ζῶντα in the text of the chronographer: [οὐκ] ἔπι ζῶντα.²⁸ Although de' Cavalieri did not find any solution for the textual problem, he properly rejected Seeck's emendation which was surely not the thrust of Julian, Zonaras's source.²⁹

There is a possible solution to this crux. One does not have to resort to making emendations of the text of the chronographer to resolve the problem. Zonaras simply misinterpreted the text of Julian. Julian's own phraseology³⁰ would lead the reader to conclude that the emperor was still alive at the time of Constantios's arrival. But a closer reading of the passage reveals that this was not the case. The operative word in this section of Julian is the aorist infinitive ὀρμῆσαι. Although Julian states that Constantios left the eastern front while his father was still alive, he does not give any indication about the time of Constantios's arrival in the neighborhood of Nicomedia. The chronographer read too much into the text of Julian. He must have assumed that Constantine was still alive when Constantios returned to Asia Minor because he had not yet passed away when the Caesar left the East. Julian's comments are probably more convincing than those of later sources and, for that reason, it can

25 13.4.28.

26 *Or.* 1.16D.

27 Sozom., *Hist. Eccl.* 2.34.4ff; Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.40, PG 67:180B.

28 *Antiken Welt*, 4.390, n. 28.

29 *École française de Rome: Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 36 (1916-17), p. 206, n. 2.

30 *Or.* 1.16D.

be assumed that Constantios left Antioch before his father's death; the emperor, however, passed away while his son was *en route*.³¹

The majority of sources gloss over Constantine's movements before his death by indicating briefly that the emperor took the field against the foe and that he had hardly begun when he became ill. He is said to have proceeded to the vicinity of Helenopolis to bathe in the medicinal waters in the area.³² In reality, the waters were at Pythiae Thermae, a short distance to the west of Helenopolis.³³ Eusebios, the first author to discuss the illness of Constantine, may have condensed the actual course of events in order that his narrative might move more swiftly. Zonaras indicates that in Constantine's day the watering place was called Soteropolis;³⁴ in actuality, the correct name may have been Saterouta.³⁵ The chronographer probably saw the obsolete name in his source, and corrupted it, by way of popular etymology, into Soteropolis.

In the same passage Zonaras, apart from all other sources, claims that Constantine went to the baths by sea.³⁶ If the origin of this information could be determined, then some valuable details about the Emperor Constantine's last trip could be restored. One can arrive at the answer to this question by looking at the total context of the passage in the chronographer. In addition to mentioning the trip to the baths, Zonaras also discusses the alleged murder of the Emperor Constantine at the hands of his half-brothers; the chronographer does not go into any detail about this matter. For this material, one has to turn to Philostorgios, his probable source.³⁷ The contention that Zonaras derived this information

31 Eusebios (*VC* 4.68), Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.34.4ff), and Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.40, *PG* 67: 180B) leave the impression that Constantios did not depart from the East until he received news of Constantine's death. Nonetheless, as a member of the royal family, Julian was probably privy to information about Constantine's death not available to others. Surely Constantios was in constant contact with Constantine as the emperor was making preparations for his war with the Persians in 337; if this is true, then it is possible that Constantios learned about Constantine's illness through dispatches that he received from Nicomedeia. The messages mentioned by Eusebios, Socrates, and Sozomen were the official notices of the emperor's death sent to all the Caesars. Eusebios's account makes this point quite clear (*VC* 4.68).

32 Euseb., *VC* 4.61; Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.39, *PG* 67: 177C9ff; Sozom., *Hist. Eccl.* 1.34.1ff.

33 Leo the Grammarian (= J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca* [Oxford, 1839], 2.296.10ff); Zonar., 13.4.26; Cedrenus, 1.519.15ff Bonn.

34 13.4.25.

35 Hierocl., *Synecd.* (Burchardt, 66.72).

36 13.4.25.

37 Philostorgios claims that Constantine, while on his deathbed, wrote a testament which accused his brothers of having poisoned him. It went on to urge his sons to punish the malefactors for this crime. Soon afterwards Constantios put all those involved to death (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.16 [Bidez, 26ff] [= Cedrenus, 1.520.4ff]). Later sources picked up this tradition and simply say that Constantine was poisoned by his brothers (John of Rhodes, *Artemii Passio* 7 [Bidez, 26]; Zonar., 13.4.25).

from Philostorgios is easy enough to prove. The chronographer notes that ...ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος...φάρμακον πιεῖν δηλητήριον λέγεται παρὰ τῶν ἐτεροθαλῶν αὐτῷ κερμασθέν ἀδελφῶν.³⁸ His account is reminiscent of that of John of Rhodes who writes that Constantine...τελευτᾷ τὸν ὥιον ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν φάρμακον αὐτῷ δηλητήριον ἐκχεαμένων...³⁹ Since it is known that John of Rhodes excerpted much of his material from the narrative of Philostorgios, it can be concluded that Zonaras derived his account from this source. The fact that the chronographer's language is slightly different from that of the extant text of Philostorgios is no bar to this theory; only Photios *Epitome* of Philostorgios is still extant. I am of the opinion that the original text of Philostorgios also contained a description of Constantine's sea voyage and his trip to Pythiae Thermae; it is also probable that Zonaras obtained his information from this source. Photios did not include this material in his *Epitome* because he was more concerned with the plot of the emperor's brothers than with the sea voyage. Since the chronographer derived his information about the plot from Philostorgios, one may assume that it would have been easier for him to have obtained his earlier comments about Constantine's trip from the same source rather than to have turned to another.

Until this point in the article no attempt has been made to explain the origins of Zonaras's comment that Constantios was stationed in Antioch when he heard about his father's illness and his contention that Constantios built the Mausoleum of Constantine and the Church of the Holy Apostles.⁴⁰ Julian, the chronographer's source of information about Constantine's death, leaves the impression that the tomb of Constantine was under construction, or completed, by 331, the time of the emperor's death.⁴¹ Zonaras cannot have obtained his information only from Julian. The narrative of Philostorgios apparently had its effect also on this portion of the chronographer's discussion. At one point in his account Philostorgios concludes that not only the Church of the Holy Apostles, but also the tomb of Constantine was built by Constantios.⁴² Clearly Zonaras must have known of Philostorgios's discussion of the subject since he used this source in the composition of the earlier part of his work. In other words, Zonaras's conclusions are based upon a faulty evaluation of his sources. Since he obtained his information about Constantios's return from the East from Julian,⁴³ it can be assumed that he also noticed Julian's comment that the Caesar adorned the tomb of his

38 13.4.26.

39 *Artemii Passio* 7 (Bidez, 26).

40 The trip to Soteropolis, Zonar., 13.4.25; the tomb and church, Zonar., 13.4.28.

41 *Or.* 1.16C.

42 *Hist. Eccl.* 3.2 (Bidez, 31) (= John of Rhodes, *Artemii Passio* 17 [Bidez, 31]).

43 *Or.* 1.16D.

father.⁴⁴ Remembering the narrative of Philostorgios on the topic, the chronographer probably assumed that he and Julian were referring to the same events, and did not read this text of Julian too closely. Using this same line of argumentation, it is also possible to conclude that Zonaras derived his statement about Constantios's stay at Antioch from a portion of Philostorgios's text which Photios did not bother to transcribe.

In conclusion, a number of general comments are necessary. Much of what has been said falls within the realm of speculation. Many of the events that occurred during the closing days of Constantine's reign have to be reconstructed largely because of the faulty interpretation of the evidence at the hands of earlier scholars. Historians of the fourth century have not given enough attention to Zonaras as a source for the period. This lack of attention seems to be due to the inability of scholars to determine what Zonaras's sources were for the fourth century. This evaluation of Zonaras's account of spring 337 hopefully remedies part of the problem. I look forward to other scholars' views on the value of the chronographer's narrative as a source for reconstructing the reign of Constantine I.

44 *Or.* 1.16C.

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